

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA
ARCHÆOLOGICAL
LIBRARY

ACCESSION NO. 31709

CALL No. 913.3305/P. E. F.

D.G.A. 79

CENTRAL GEOLOGICAL
LIBRARY, NEW DELHI.

Acc. No. 31709

Date..... 10.6.57

Call No. 913.3305/P.G.F

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

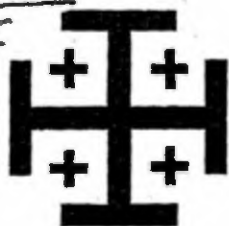
PATRON—THE KING.

31709
Quarterly Statement

FOR 1933.

913.3305

P. E. F.



LONDON:

PUBLISHED AT THE FUND'S OFFICE,
2, HINDE STREET, MANCHESTER SQUARE, W.

INDEX TO NAMES OF AUTHORS AND TITLES OF CONTRIBUTIONS.

	PAGE
Ashmole, Prof. Bernard—	
Review	212
Burkitt, Prof. F. C., D.D., F.B.A.—	
Chairman's Address: Report of B.S.A.J.	184
Close, Sir Charles, K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., F.R.S.—	
Review	166
Cook, Prof. S. A., Litt.D.—	
Reviews	41, 207
The Late Archibald Henry Sayce	59
Crowfoot, J. W., C.B.E., M.A.—	
The Ivories from Samaria	7
The Third International Congress of Christian Archaeology ..	39
The Samaria Excavations—The Stadium	62
Samaria—Interim Report	129
Crowfoot, Mrs. G. M.—	
Review	162
Fitzgerald, G. M., M.A.—	
Review	48
Hooke, Prof. S. H., M.A.—	
Reviews	157, 214
Kenyon, Kathleen, M.A.—	
The Samaria Excavations—Forecourt of the Augusteum ..	74
Mackay, Cameron—	
Mt. Hor	147
Marmorstein, A., Ph.D.—	
The Inscription of Er-Ramé	100
Masterman, Dr. E. W. G.—	
Reviews	48, 102
May, H. G., D.B., Ph.D.—	
Supplementary Note on the Ivory Inlays from Samaria ..	88

Myres, Prof. J. L., O.B.E., F.B.A.—

Review 161

Naish, J. P., D.D.—

The Excavations at Jeraah 90

Oesterley, Prof. W. O. E., D.D.—

Review 210

Phythian-Adams, Canon W. J.—

Israel in the Arabah 137

Rowe, Alan—

Winged Monsters, &c.—Some Tentative Suggestions 97

Starkey, J. L.—

Tell Duweir 190

Stephan, St. H.—

Review 164

Sukenik, Prof. E. L., Ph.D.—

Inscribed Hebrew and Aramaic Potsherds from Samaria .. 152

Inscribed Potsherds with Biblical Names from Samaria .. 200

Thomas, D. Winton—

En-Dor—A Sacred Spring 205

Z.—

Review 104

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
The Ivories from Samaria :	
Plate I. Fig. 1. Medallion with Relief of Harpocrates Seated on a Lotus after	22
„ 2. Plaque with Sphinx or Cherub	22
Plate II. Fig. 1. Plaque of Robed Figure	22
„ 2. Two Winged Goddesses Adoring a TET	22
„ 3. Lion and Bull	22
„ 4. Two Rows of Hieroglyphs	22
Plate III. Fig. 1. A Drooping Palm	22
„ 2. Pattern of Volutes and Lotus-Buds	22
„ 3. "The Lady at the Window"	22
Archibald Henry Sayce, 1845-1933	58
The Samaria Excavations—The Stadium :	
Plate I. East Enclosure Wall of the Stadium	72
Plate II. Statue of the Goddess Kore	72
Plate III. Plan of the Stadium	72
Plate IV. Architectural Details of the Stadium	72
Plate V. The Stadium—View Looking North	72
Plate VI. The Stadium—View Looking South	72
The Samaria Excavations—The Augusteum :	
Plate VII. Plan of the Augusteum	86
Plate VIII. N.E. Corner of Forecourt	86
Plate IX. i. Walls of Pre-Herodian House	86
„ ii. Angle of Forecourt from East	86
Plate X. Corner Tower of Augusteum	86
Plate XI. i. Building of Herodian Masonry	86
„ ii. Subterranean Corridor	86
Plate XII. Outer Northern Retaining Wall	86
Plate XIII. i. Imbedded Pot	86
„ ii. Eastern Subterranean Corridor	86
Inscribed Hebrew and Aramaic Potsherds from Samaria :	
Plates I-IV, Figs. 1-7	156

Tell Duweir :

Plate I.	Tell Duweir	after	192
Plate II.	Ruins of the Citadel .. .. .	.. "	192
Plate III.	Sketch of Reconstruction of Residency ..	.. "	192
	Tentative Reconstruction of the West Side	.. "	192
Plate IV.	View looking South-east .. .. .	.. "	192
Plate V.	View looking West .. .. .	.. "	192
Plate VI.	Earth Ramp against West Wall of Citadel	.. "	192
	View South through outer City Gateway ..	.. "	192
Plate VII.	View looking North .. .. .	.. "	192
Plate VIII.	Bronze Maat Feather .. .. .	.. "	192
	Crest of Bronze Helmet .. .. .	.. "	192

Inscribed Potsherds :

Figure 5	.. .. .	..	204
Plate IX.	Figs. 1 and 2 .. .. .	.. after	204
Plate X.	Figs. 3 and 4 .. .. .	.. "	204

GENERAL INDEX.

- Ain Shems, excavation of, 104.
 Annual Meeting of the British School of Archaeology at Jerusalem, 27.
 Annual Meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 118.
 Annual Report of the B.S.A.J., 175.
 Arab House, the, 164f.
 Arabah, Israel in the, 137; copper in the, 142.
 Beth Alpha, Synagogue of, 207.
 Books received, 4, 56, 116, 173.
 Border of Israel, 151.
 Copper in the Arabah, 143.
 Dura-Europos, 170.
 En-Dor, 205.
 Er-Rame, 100.
 Flora of Syria, 101ff.
 Hor, Mt., 147.
 Jerash, excavations at, 90.
 Jericho, walls of, 112.
 Lachish, 198.
 Manichaeism, 111.
 Masada, 210.
 Megiddo, 54.
 Monsters, winged, 97.
 Natufian culture, 157.
 Nebo, Mt., 170.
 Neolithic drawings, 171.
 Prehistoric Man in Palestine, 2.
 Ramses II, 148.
 Ras Shamra, 46, 55.
 Sacrifice, Origins, of, 214.
 Samaria, Assyrian stele at, 130, Augusteum, 74; Inlay from, analysis of, 24; Ivories from, 7, 88; Ostraca from, 136, 152, 200; Stadium, 62.
 Sayce, A. H., death of, 59, 119.
 Shimron, 171.
 Shubbilniuna, 147.
 Tabgha mosaics, 111.
 Tell Beit Mirsim, excavation of, 48; griffin of, 97.
 Tell Duweir, 127, 190ff.
 Transliteration, table of, 216.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
NOTES AND NEWS 	1
THE IVORIES FROM SAMARIA. By J. W. CROWFOOT, C.B.E., M.A.	7
THE BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN JERUSALEM; GENERAL MEETING AND COUNCIL'S REPORT 	27
THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF CHRISTIAN ARCHAEO- LOGY. By J. W. CROWFOOT 	39
REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS 	41

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
THE IVORIES FROM SAMARIA :	
PLATE I. FIG. 1. MEDALLION WITH RELIEF OF HARPOCRATES SEATED ON A LOTUS <i>after</i>	22
„ 2. PLAQUE WITH SPHINX OR CHERUB „	22
PLATE II. FIG. 1. PLAQUE OF ROBED FIGURE ... „	22
„ 2. TWO WINGED GODDESSES ADORING A <i>TET</i> „	22
„ 3. LION AND BULL „	22
„ 4. TWO ROWS OF HIEROGLYPHS ... „	22
PLATE III. FIG. 1. A DROOPING PALM ~ „	22
„ 2. PATTERN OF VOLUTES AND LOTUS- BUDS „	22
„ 3. " THE LADY AT THE WINDOW " ... „	22

THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

In the map of the principal excavated sites published in the October *Q.S.* facing p. 220, the name Hazor was accidentally omitted. Prof. Garstang writes that although he had only a month's work on the site, it was quite sufficient to determine its antiquity (see his *Joshua and Judges*, p. 381). It lies almost exactly four miles due west of the foot of Lake Huleh, and occupies a large area 1,200 yards by 600. At its southern end is Tell el-Qedah, which is marked on some of the maps; it forms the Acropolis of the place.

Friends and colleagues of the late Dr. Hall, former Chairman of the Executive Committee of the P.E.F., have combined to present to the British Museum an Egyptian figure to commemorate his work in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities. Dr. Hall had already selected the figure as a desirable acquisition, and subscribers to the memorial are asked to accept the thanks of the Trustees for the gift. A fuller account of the object with an illustration is given in the *British Museum Quarterly*, vol. vii, No. 2.

Among the coins found at Beth-zur during the 1931 excavations were Greek or imitation Greek coins of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., testifying to the presence of Greek influence in Palestine during the two centuries before Alexander the Great. According to Professor O. R. Sellers of Chicago (*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1932, p. 301), Beth-zur attained its greatest prosperity during the rule of Antiochus Epiphanes and just afterward. From

the small number of coins of the subsequent period, it would seem that with the Judaizing of the place, it lost its importance as a frontier post and was abandoned.

The Jerusalem correspondent of *The Near East and India* (October 27) gives the following account of pre-historic discoveries in Palestine:—"A scientific achievement of the highest order is that of Mr. René Neuville, of the French Consulate-General at Jerusalem, and Mr. Stekelis, of the Hebrew University. Carvings on the rock walls dating back 12,000 years to the Natoufian period, coinciding with the French Magdalenian period, and depicting elephant, wild pig, rhinoceros and gazelle, were traced out in the course of the investigations. According to the experts they show a highly advanced realistic art. In the same cave, which is some seven miles eastward of Bethlehem, the excavators found traces of a flint industry that is placed in the Clactonian period, which can be variously put at 100,000 or 200,000 B.C., or at any intermediate time: for the Clactonian period has never been 'dated.' The flints found were manufactured scythe-heads and fishing and agricultural implements, and are believed to indicate the beginnings of agrarian culture. The exhaustive inquiries made show that Prehistoric and Historic man in Palestine had a continuous residence in the caves of Judæa and Phœnicia right down to the Early Bronze Age. The Natoufian period is dated at 12,000 B.C., or some seven or eight thousand years before the Israelites entered Canaan, and it is reasonable to suppose—judging from the evidences of different Troglodyte and cultured habitations—that there were civilisations in that period."

The new Sir Sassoon David Chair of Near Eastern Art and Archæology, established by Sir Percival David, Bart., in memory of his father, the first Baronet, at the Hebrew University, is to have Dr. L. A. Mayer as its incumbent. Dr. Mayer is at present Librarian and Records Officer in the Department of Antiquities. Born 36 years ago, Dr. Mayer has devoted the main part of his studies to Orientalia and Archæology, and his contributions to the science of interpreting the glamorous past of epigraphy and heraldry, numismatics and monuments, have at all times ranked with the authorita-

tive works of their kind. The object of the Chair is to conduct research on the spot in Palestine and adjacent countries into the field of concentration. The new Chair is the first resident Professorship at the School of Oriental Studies of the University.

P.E.F. PUBLICATIONS. It may be noted in the Fund's list, that many of our earlier publications, both books and maps, have become out of print. There is still a demand for many of them, and it is suggested that some members may be disposed to assist the Fund by presenting copies of such works for inclusion in our second-hand list, in the event of their having ceased to be of personal utility.

By an arrangement with Sir Flinders Petrie, Members of the P.E.F. are enabled to purchase at half the published price the Reports of the British School of Egyptian Archaeology dealing with the Society's researches in Palestine. Reciprocally, the excavation Reports of the P.E.F. henceforth issued are available to Members of the School in Egypt similarly at half-price. P.E.F. Members desirous of taking advantage of this privilege should apply to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, W.1.

The list of books received will be found on p. 4.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

The Committee gratefully acknowledge the following special contributions. From :—

	£	s.	d.
Mrs. Traquair ...	10	0	0
Mrs. White ...	10	0	0
Henry J. Patten, Esq.	5	0	0
Miss Finn ...	2	0	0
Miss A. M. Parker ...	1	1	0

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND INCOME TAX.—Subscribers may, if they wish, covenant to pay their subscriptions for seven years, thereby enabling the Fund to benefit by the recovery of Income Tax thereon. A form of covenant was issued with the *July Quarterly Statement*, 1932, and copies of this form may be had on application to the Assistant Secretary.

The Committee gratefully acknowledge receipt of the forms already completed.

The Museum at the Office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1, is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5 except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following :—

The British Museum Quarterly, vii. 2. Antiquities from Ur, N.-W. Persia, Egypt, &c.; the H. R. Hall Memorial, &c.

The Near East.

The Antiquaries' Journal, October. Excavations at Ur, 1931-2, by C. Leonard Woolley.

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 1932, vol. lxii. Anthropological observations in South Arabia, by Bertram Thomas.

The Expository Times, November. Recent Biblical Archaeology, by the Rev. J. W. Jack.

The New Judaea, August-September. The development of the Hebrew University.

Journal of the Society of Oriental Research, July—Oct. The tower of Babel, by Tb. Domhart.

Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, October. The fourth joint campaign at Tell Beit Mirsim, by W. F. Albright; Byzantine tombs in the garden of the Jerusalem school, by Millar Burrows.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, September. A North Syrian poem on the conquest of death, by C. A. Barton.

Homiletic Review, October. The preacher and archaeology, by Rev. R. C. McAdie.

Geographical Review.

American Journal of Philology.

The Jewish Quarterly Review, Oct. Intermediaries in Jewish Theology, by G. H. Box.

Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York). 8, The expedition to Ctesiphon, by J. M. Upton; no. 11 sect. 2: the Michael Friedsam collection.

The Smithsonian Institution, 1931. The antiquity of civilized man, by A. H. Sayce.

Revue Biblique, October. The site of Sodom, by M. J. Lagrange; The route of the Exodus, by G. Bourdon; new inscriptions from the Jebel Druze and Hauran, by M. Dunand; the temple of Allat at Iram, by Savignac.

Bulletin de Correspondence Hellenique, 1931, ii.

Syria, xiii. 2. A poem from Ras Shamra, by C. Virolleaud; the language of Ras Shamra, by J. Cantineau; excavations at Khan Sheikhun, by Comte du Mesnil du Buisson; Syrian antiquities, by H. Seyrig; the Persian exhibition at London, by H. Wiet.

Biblica, 1932, pp. 273-283. Les Fouilles de l'Institut Biblique Pontifical dans la vallée du Jourdain, by A. Mallon.

Associazione Internazionale Studi Mediterranei, Bollettino. 2 Megalithic monuments in the Orkneys, by Giannina Francisci; Italian archaeological work at Amman, by Renato Bartoccini.

Litterae Orientalis, lii. October. Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig.

Zeitschrift für die Alttest. Wissenschaft, 2-3. The story of Paradise in Genesis, by T. Begrich; the story of the Deluge, by J. Boehmer, &c.

Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, lv. 3. The settlements in 1 Chron. ii. and iv., by D. M. Noth; Jewish inscriptions, by E. L. Sukenik; inscriptions from Scythopolis and Philadelphia, by A. Alt.

Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, October: rev. of Watzinger, Tell-el-Mutesellim, by J. Hempel.

Archiv für Orientforschung, iii. Safa inscriptions, by H. Crimme, &c.; survey of recent archaeology.

Songs of the Druzes. By A. Saarisalo (Helsingfors, *Studia Orientalia*, iv. 1, 1932).

Archiv. Orientalni, August. The Ionians at Ras-Shamra, by B. Hrozny.

The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine, Vol 1, Index. Vol II., 2-3. Excavations at Athlit, by C. N. Johns; mosaic pavements in Palestine, by M. Avi-Yonah; Byzantine bath at Qalandia, by D. C. Baramki; the crouching Aphrodite, and Greek and Latin inscriptions in the Museum, by J. H. Iliffe; Satira Epigraphica Arabica, by L. A. Mayer; hoard of coins of the Constantine period, by C. Lambert.

Al-Mashrik, Aug.-Sept. The Lebanon in the days of Fakhreddin, by I. A. Malouf (cont. in Oct.); the Persians of the Lebanon, by Lammens (cont. in Oct.); guide to the Nahr-el-Kelb, by F. E. Boustany.

NEA ΣΙΩΝ.

Bible Lands, October. Life in Hebron, by I. S. M.; Mohammedan mysticism, by Rev. O. W. Thompson.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identification and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of——— to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.

THE IVORIES FROM SAMARIA.

By J. W. CROWFOOT AND G. M. CROWFOOT.

I. *The Discovery.*

THE palaces of the kings of Israel stood on the summit of the hill in a vast open court, covering perhaps seven or eight acres of ground. The court was surrounded by massive walls, and the great find of ivories was made on the north side of it, just south of the north enclosure wall and about thirty metres east of the precinct of the later Augusteum. In the early Israelite period there was a considerable building here, running parallel to the enclosure wall of the court. We came upon traces of it in 1931 a few metres to the west of our latest excavations; this year we came upon more rock scarps and trenches connected with our former finds, but the remains of early masonry were even more scanty, only a small section of a single course was in position. It was above these remains, and in the space between them and the enclosure wall of the court that most of the ivories were found, in a level which was covered unevenly by a black stratum and crossed by the foundations of several walls that date apparently from the late Israelite period to the Hellenistic.

The greater number of ivory fragments had been blackened by fire to a fine "ivory black" colour; these fragments were hard, shiny, and comparatively heavy, as if they had been slowly carbonised while the ivory was still in good condition, but very many of them were mere splinters. The black fragments were found scattered widely in this region over an area about 15 metres square, and they had evidently been broken and burnt before they were thus scattered. In the same context there were several fragments of charred wood, part of an unworked tusk, the husk of a pomegranate, some burnt olive stones, and several bones, burnt and unburnt; the artefacts mixed with the midden rubbish included a great deal of Israelite pottery, some glass insets, a neo-Babylonian seal and a Philistino-Arabian coin. In the south-east corner of this area and within the limits of the Israelite building above mentioned there were also a number of unburnt ivories embedded in a light-coloured clayey mass, which was probably composed of disintegrated mud bricks or other building material, as a piece of the only mud brick we have

seen in Samaria was lying near. These white pieces were larger than the black fragments, and some of the plaques were practically complete, but they were in a very fragile state, much lighter in weight than the black ivories, and when first found almost as soft as cheese. In the few inches which separated this mass from the rock we found several fragments of late Rhodian ware, a piece of red glazed ware, and various other Hellenistic sherds. The debris in which the ivories lay must, therefore, have been moved from elsewhere and spread about here in the Hellenistic period; before this time one of the worked fragments (Q. 1558) had been re-shaped for use as a pin. Other stray fragments of ivory, carved in the same style, were found in other fields: one just north of the south enclosure wall (Q.h.), the second north of the north enclosure wall (Q.d.), and the third some thirty metres away to the north west (Q.f.); the last two in uncontaminated Israelite levels. One or two fragments also in the same style were found by the previous expedition in an Israelite level (*Harvard Expedition*, p. 368). Consequently, though the principal finds were made in an area which had been very badly disturbed at a much later period, their position is quite consistent with an Israelite date and the position of other fragments is inconsistent with any other date.¹

The collection from Samaria includes pieces in the round, plaques in relief, and plaques in pierced work (*ajouré*); some are plain, some are decorated with figures, and others have purely ornamental patterns. In all these respects, as well as in style, our ivories closely resemble others which have come from the East; in particular, one series of the ivories found more than eighty years ago by Layard at Tell Nimrud, and a collection discovered in 1928 at Arslan-Tash, in north Syria, by an expedition under M. Thureau-Dangin.

Most of our reliefs come from narrow bands of decoration, several of them are less than five centimetres high, though one of the black pieces measured over twelve centimetres; they are rather smaller on the average than those from Nimrud and Arslan-Tash. The purely ornamental patterns were carved on long strips, one

¹ The description of the stratification in this paragraph has been condensed from the field notes of Miss K. M. Kenyon, who was supervising the work in all the sections where ivories were found.

strip more than forty centimetres long has survived. The small plaques with figures on them were apparently set side by side in a running frame; some plaques contain subjects which are complete in themselves, others contain subjects which were carried over into adjoining plaques—the body of a lion sejant, for example, is represented on three unbroken plaques and the head and forepaws must have been figured on six, or possibly nine, adjacent plaques of which no trace has come to light. Some pieces have projecting tenons to keep them in place, others peg holes through which studs were passed, others are nicked across the back perhaps to key them more securely; some lumps of bitumen which were found in the same context may come from their bedding. Early Aramaic letters were found on the back of various pieces both at Samaria and Arslan-Tash; these may possibly have been cut to guide the workman in assembling the pieces.

The plaques in relief and pierced work were probably carved to decorate the panels or framework of cabinets, couches, tables or stools; a large number of those at Arslan-Tash were grouped round the vestiges of a bed. It is conceivable that some may have been let into the wainscoting of rooms. The two lions in the round from Samaria came perhaps from the arms or back of a throne; two pieces found by Dr. Reisner seem to have been handles of a mirror (?) and a dagger respectively; some of those from Nimrud were possibly toilet boxes, others may have come from sceptres. It is evident that ivory was very largely used for all manner of purposes in the luxurious courts of this period.

Some figured glass insets which have been found both at Samaria and at Arslan-Tash were probably used as substitutes for ivories to decorate boxes or furniture. One of those from Samaria had a bird upon it, others had six petalled daisies in white and blue, and there was also a small granular pendant of grapes in glass; at Arslan-Tash remains of a metal frame were found round one of the glass insets (*Arslan-Tash*, p. 138).

Eight of the finest plaques were published in the *Quarterly Statement* for July, 1932: nine more appear in the present issue, and detailed descriptions of both these groups are given in the following section.

Many of them, like those from Nimrud and Arslan-Tash, represent the Egyptian mythological figures which were popular in the Early Iron Age. Only a few of those from Samaria depict the animals which are repeated so often in the Arslan-Tash collection. Other subjects were represented on plaques of which there are only tiny fragments, at present unpublished; there are two fragments, for example, of a recumbent human figure, lying on his back and being trampled on by some animal; another shows a struggle between a winged sphinx or cherub and bull; another has a fish upon it; another a goat browsing on a tree; there are also several small beardless heads in the Egyptian style which come from some scene we cannot reconstruct, one of them wearing a tassel like the tasselled head dress on the bronze from Olympia (*Olympia*, Vol. 4, Plate lii). The purely decorative fragments contain patterns which are equally familiar, lotus and bud chains, rows of rosettes, drooping palms, sacred trees, and so forth.

Iconographically, the whole group is closely related to the two groups of ivories we have mentioned: like them it has affinities with a much larger series of objects in ivory, metal and other materials, which have been found in the countries round the Mediterranean from Spain to the Levant. These objects have been discussed again and again, but there is still little agreement as to their dates or places of ultimate origin because the evidence on these points is so unsatisfactory. The wider issues, of course, are not within the scope of this note.

II(A) DESCRIPTION OF THE IVORIES ILLUSTRATED.¹

I=Q. 1580. From Q.c., room 49-26-25, level 2, 27/5/32. H., 6.2 cm., B. at top 1.5, at widest point 5.3, at base 4.5, thickness varies from 1.6 at centre. Medallion with relief of Harpocrates

¹ The following descriptions have been written from our card register. Q. stands for El Qa'adeh, the native name of this portion of the site (see *Quarterly Statement*, January, 1932, p. 9); the number following it, e.g., 1580, for the number in our running register; Q.o. for the section of Q. on which most of our finds were made. The "rooms" are the spaces enclosed by the various walls which we were obliged to number separately owing to the complicated character of the stratification and the re-use of old foundations at later periods which rendered the recognition of true rooms impossible; the levels are not the general levels on the site, but the levels enclosed within the particular walls in question, level 2 in one "room" may be lower than level 3 in another. The date is the date when the objects were brought to the camp.

seated on a lotus. Missing, right hand, left arm, and upper part of knee. (Plate I, Fig. 1.)

Incurved volutes with pendant drops form a frame to the figure. The child Harpocrates wears the side lock and places the finger of the left hand to his lips. In his right hand he holds a whip or flail. He wears on his head an *Atef* crown with horizontally spreading horns, plumes, and solar disk, and there is a uraeus on each side, each uraeus also crowned with a disk. Round his neck is a collar which was decorated with gold leaf, and his side lock, whip, and the bracelet on the left wrist, were also formerly decorated with gold and inlay; on his right arm are an armlet and bracerlet, both inlaid with pieces of blue glass and outlined with gold leaf still in position. The lotus flower on which he sits has nine petals, the three lower filled with a yellowish paste, still remaining in the centre of the petal; the two petals next above are in plain ivory, and the four small upper ones still have blue glass insets; all were outlined in gold leaf except the two plain white petals. On each side of the lotus flower was a leaf; the leaves were outlined in gold leaf, also the central ribs, and the filling between was of green paste, traces only remaining; the shape of the leaves shows that the plant represented was *nymphaea caerulea*, the blue water lily.

For the shape of the medallion compare plaques from Nimrud (Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, Plate 90, 21, 22) and below F. Plate III, p. 17.

The figure of Harpocrates was very popular: it occurs three times at Samaria, once at Nimrud (Layard, 89, 9), and 14 times in a slightly different form at Arslan-Tash (*Arslan-Tash*, Plates xix-xxiv). Mr. Alan Rowe has kindly sent me references to two Hebrew seals with the same subject, mentioned by Clermont-Ganneau, *Archæol. Res.* I, p. 245, and de Vogüé, *Mélanges d'Archéologie Orientale*, p. 138, No. 39, one of which is published by M. A. Levy, *Siegeln und Gemmen*, 1869, p. 41, Pl. iii.² A good example from Egypt of the 10th century occurs on two gold bracelets in the British Museum, *Guide to the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Egyptian Rooms*, 1922, Nos. 134, 5.

2=Q. 1546 and 1592. From Q.c. room 49-26-25, Level 2, 19 and 25/5/32. H. 4.5 cm., B. 9 cm. A plaque on two pieces of

² See G. A. Cooke, *North-Semitic Epigraphy*, p. 362, No. 8; S. A. Cook, *Rel. of Anc. Pal. in the Light of Archaeology*, p. 57 f.

ivory. Missing, five small fragments on the L. piece, and two fragments at the bottom of the R. piece. (Plate II, Fig. 2.)

Two winged goddesses adoring a *tet*. The goddesses may be identified with Isis and Nephthys, though wearing solar disks in place of the usual emblems. They have veils or wigs on their heads and collarettes, and lotus flowers, which on some other representations are grasped in the hands, here appear to spring from them. The *tet* is half on one piece, half on the other; it is crowned with a solar disk, and its base is formed like an inverted lotus. There are traces of blue paste between the bars of the *tet*, of gold on the scales of the wings, and of red and blue paste in the long feathers.

The headdress of the goddesses is identical with the headdress on two plaques from Nimrud (Layard, 89, 10 and 11), the wings and hands with those on the Harpocrates plaque (Layard, 89, 9), and the *tet* with one on a fourth plaque from Nimrud (Museum number 118,119, unpublished).

3=Q. 1595, 1596. From Q.c. room 19-51-14-20, level 6, 23 and 24/5/32. Greatest H. 8.5 cm. Plaque of a robed figure in two fragments. Missing, the head, fragments on both sides, and on the base. (Plate II, Fig. 1.)

The head has disappeared, but from the position of the collarette it was probably shown in full face, though the feet are moving towards the left. The figure held a flail in the R. hand and an *ankh* in the L., and we are disposed to regard it as an Osiris. The robe is decorated with borders at the bottom, on the sides, down the middle, and transversely across the right side; the border was inlaid with red and blue insets; three blue glass insets were found in position, but there were traces only of the red insets on the border and of blue and gold on the collarette. On the left side the folds of the robe are vertical, on the right transverse, a peculiarity which occurs also on the robes with similarly patterned borders of some faience figures from the palace of Ramses III at Tell el-Yahudi, now in the British Museum (no. 12,301). The curve of the robe above the feet, which is not in accord with Egyptian or Assyrian practice, may be paralleled from numerous Mycenaean seals.

4=Q. 1602. From Q.c. room 19-51-14-20, level 6, 28/5/32. A small plaque measuring 2.3 cm. by 2 cm. at the broadest point.

Two rows of hieroglyphs. The hieroglyphs showed traces of coloured inlays, and there were fine threads of blue glass still in position in the lines between the two rows. There were traces of gold leaf on the reserved parts of the field which were probably covered entirely with gold. (Plate II, Fig. 4.)

It is not improbable that these hieroglyphs, like those on the cartouches from Nimrud, were meaningless, but it is possible to read on them a Semitic name and I am indebted to Mr. Alan Rowe for the suggestion that the signs, if the text is complete, are to be read A-L-Y-W-Sh-B=ELIASHIB "God requites or restores."

5=Q. 1577. From Q.c. room 49-26-25, level 2, 27/5/32. II. 7.5 cm., B. at broadcast point 7 cm. Missing, a small fragment in centre of plaque. (Plate I, Fig. 2.)

A plaque in pierced relief with tenons at top and bottom for attachment, and border at top and bottom only, showing that the plaque formed part of a series. The subject is a sphinx or cherub, with a human head, the body of a lion and high spreading wings. On the head a wig with a curl at the back and an Egyptian double crown in a strangely flattened form. The face is too large for the body, it has a long almond eye, a grooved eyebrow, and a prominent nose. Between the forelegs hangs an apron decorated with an incised pattern. The paws are lion-like and the tail curls up. There are tall plants with interlacing stems before the figure and others behind it, possibly papyrus.

In many respects this sphinx cherub resembles human and animal-headed sphinxes, also in pierced work, from Arslan-Tash e.g., in the flattened double crown, the curl of the beaddress, the upcurling tail, the apron, the plants before and behind; but it is closer still to a human headed sphinx in relief from Nimrud (Layard, 89, 12, also in Poulsen, *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst*, p. 40), on which the wings are carried below the body as on ours.

6=Q. 1588. From Q.c. 19-51-14-20, 29/5/32. H. 3.3, B. 3.2. "The lady at the window." Missing, two fragments from base and right side. (Plate III, Fig. 3.)

A head of a woman above a balcony with three balusters in a window surrounded by a frame recessed in three steps; the head has widely projecting Hathor (?) ears and hair done in the Egyptian fashion.

Similar plaques, larger and more elaborate in detail, were found both at Nimrud and Arslan-Tash. The subject has been much discussed, most recently in *Arslan-Tash*, pp. 112-118 and in Contenau, *Manuel d'Archéologie Orientale*, p. 1,335.

7=Q. 1572. From Q.c. 49-26-25, 20/5/32. Small fragment of plaque in pierced relief, greatest H. 2.4, greatest B. 6.4.

All that remains is a fragment of the frame and the upper portion of a maneless lion tearing the head of a bull; the L. forepaw of the lion appears above the bull's neck as in number C. The eyes were once inset. (Plate II, Fig. 3.)

8=Q. 1567. From Q.c. 49-26-25, level 2, of 19 and 20/5/32. H. 12.5, B. 5.2. (Plate III, Fig. 1.)

A drooping palm in pierced relief: much missing. The framework at top and bottom and the straight edges of the upper portion of the palm show that it was one of a series. The palm has a slender stem surmounted by a chevron from which two fronds, each decorated with three lines in relief, fall in a graceful curve; above it is a second chevron from which two other fronds rise above two conventional clusters of dates to meet the upper frame; between the upper fronds is a palmette. A great many fragments of these were found both in white and black ivory, varying slightly in size. It is evidently a popular pattern.

9=Q. 1583. From Q.c. 19-51-14-20, level 4, of 25/5/32. Part of a strip 3 cm. by 5.8 cm. Broken at bottom and a fragment missing at top R. corner. (Plate III, Fig. 2.)

A pattern of volutes, palmettes and lotus buds, closely resembling two patterns in pierced relief at Arslan-Tash (Plato xlv, 97 and 98) and examples from Cyprus mentioned in the text. These fantastic patterns appear to be derived from Egyptian patterns of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties (see Jéquier, *Décoration Égyptienne*, Fig. 8, and *Ancient Egypt*, 1929, pages 67, 68).

II(B) IVORIES PUBLISHED IN Q.S., JULY, 1932, PLATES I, II, III.

A. Plate I. 1=Q. 1544 from Q.c. room 49-26-25, level 2, 20/5/32. H. 5 cm., B. about 6 cm. Missing, small fragments only. A plaque in very low relief; the frame on the L. and at top as well as

the design show that the subject was continued on another piece to R.

A kneeling falcon-headed god, who may be identified with Horus, offers a figure of Maat to the young Harpocrates who is seated on a lotus; the left half only of the last figure was carved on this plaque. Horus has the solar disk above his head and a collarette round his neck, and wears a pleated skirt. The R. arm, with a L. hand on it, is lifted in adoration; the L. arm, with a R. hand on it, rests on the raised L. knee; Maat is seated on a howl and holds a lotus sceptre. Harpocrates also has a solar disk. Traces of insets on the grooved portions of Horus, Harpocrates, and the lotus flower. The back of the plaque is scored with criss-crossing.

This subject is not represented either at Nimrud or Arslan-Tash, but the treatment of Horus' skirt is identical with the treatment of robes at Nimrud.

B. Plate I. 2=Q. 1543, from Q.c. room 49-26-25, level 2, 19/5/32. H. 5.1 cm., B. 8 cm. Missing, fragments on R. side and lower L. corner.

An oblong plaque forming part of a series decorated with Hah figures. Hah is kneeling with the L. knee raised; on the head a fillet with ends hanging down and a veil or wig; round the neck a collarette; a band crosses the body diagonally from shoulder to hip; all these attributes were formerly inset. A pleated skirt is fastened round the waist. The hands are lifted, the R. elbow resting on an object we cannot determine, perhaps the *sa*; the left elbow resting on the raised left knee; in either hand the palm branch sign symbolising thousands of years with an *ankh* hanging from it; above is a border composed of Phoenician palmettes and on the right side is the beginning of a second Hah figure. The back of the plaque is scored with criss-cross lines.

Neither the subject nor the border pattern occur at Nimrud or Arslan-Tash, but the pattern is not uncommon on so-called Phoenician objects; see Petrie, *Decorative Patterns of the Ancient World*, XII, "Lily Transformed."

C. Plate II. 1=Q. 1545. From Qc. 49-26-25, level 2, 19/5/32. H. 4.2 cm., B. 11.5, thickness 1 cm. A plaque with a plain moulded border with tenon on the right side. Missing L. side legs of bull and hind legs of lion.

A lion tearing a bull. The lion is undermost and has his paw round the neck of the bull, the eyes of both animals were evidently once inlaid. The lion has a heavy mane and an ornamented band round its body. It may be compared in this respect with a harnessed lion in jasper found at Tell el-Amarna and published by Hall who regarded it as of Syrian origin (*J.E.A.*, 1925, pp. 159-161)¹; the barness suggests that these lions were kept in captivity. The bull has long horns projecting forwards like those of the cows suckling calves from Arslan-Tash, and also of the wild bulls bunted by Assur-nazir-pal on the Euphrates (see illustration in Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, p. 92, Fig. 49).

D. Plate II. 2=Q. 1553, 1554. From room 49-26-25, level 2 of 20/5/32.

Two lions carved in the round; from rump to nose 7.6 cm and 7.8 cm., from top of head to base of foreleg 4.2 and 4.1 cm. Missing, small fragments. The lions are crouching with open mouths and heavy manes. There is a slot in the middle of the back of each measuring 2 by 0.6 cm., which may have carried an ivory post surmounted with an emblem. There are holes also on the side and one at the rump; the last may have had the tail affixed to it. The eyes were formerly inset and there are traces of red paint inside the mouth.

These lions probably adorned the arms or sides of the back of a throne.

E. Plate II. 3=Q. 1541. From Q.c. 49-26-25, level 2, o 18/5/32. H. 4 cm. L. 11 cm.

Part of a strip with a chain of lotus flowers and buds. Each flower has two large outer petals and three small inner ones. The flowers and buds are connected by curved stalks and under both flowers and buds are ovoids like those which occur in a similar pattern on a bronze vessel from Nimrud, and, very frequently, on early Rhodian pots. The stalk is formed of two lines in relief and there are single lines in relief round the flowers and buds; on these traces of gold leaf were found.

¹Also with the lions at Deir el-Bahari and Karnak of the reigns of Hatshepsut, Thothmes III., and, apparently, of Senusert I. (Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, Pl. lxxv, and Mariette, *Karnak*, Pl. 14, for which references we have to thank Mr. G. A. Wainwright).

F. Plate III. 1=Q. 1542. From Q.e. room 49-26-25, level 2, 18/5/32. H. about 5 cm., W. 4.2 cm. Two fragments, possibly from a medallion, with lower part of a seated Harpocrates and part of his head; the lotus seat is missing. Part of the flail which was carried in the R. hand remains, but the L. hand is missing. Inset above the flail is a piece of deep blue glass, and the flail, the collarette, and the side lock, must have had similar insets.

G. Plate III. 2=Q. 1569. From Q.e. 49-26-25, 21/5/32. H. 8.5 cm., B. 6.3 cm.

A plaque in pierced relief with tenons above and below. A drooping palm similar in character to No. 8 above on Plate III, Fig. 1, but here the stem is more squat, the fronds are divided into three parts *recessed* one behind the other, the dates and midrib of the cluster are indicated, and there is a third chevron in place of the top palmette.

A simplified form of this design with plain fronds was found at Arslan-Tash (Plate xlv), and it was evidently popular at both places. The design appears to be derived from more naturalistic figures such as the drooping palms on the ivory found at Tell Fara (*Beth Pelet* iv) and on the treasure from Tell Basta (Edgar in *Le Musée Egyptien*, 1907, Plate xlviii); it survived for several centuries (see Petrie, *Decorative Patterns*, lxxxviii, number 143 from Rhodes). For Minoan and Mycenaean parallel see also ivories from Papoura Zafer, Tomb 40 (Evans, *Palace of Cnossos*, II, p. 778, Fig. 506), and from Argos (Vollgraf, *Bull. Corr. Hall.*, 1904, p. 385).

H. Plate III. 3=Q. 1556. From Q.e. room 49-26-25, level 2, 21/5/32. A long strip 17.6 by 3.4 cm., broken at one end and all along one side.

The design consists of a series of composite trees. Each tree has a stem with a spreading base from either side of which "lilies" and buds grow alternately. Above the stem are the volutes of a "lily" issuing from a chevron, drops hang from each volute. Above the "lily" is a fan-shaped palmette having from eighteen to twenty divisions; it is the fine cutting of these divisions which gives its grace to this example.

For coarser versions of the combined "lily" and palmette see *Arslan-Tash*, Plates xxviii and xxix.

III. THE DATE OF THE IVORIES.

There is good chronological evidence to show the approximate period to which the ivories from Nimrud and Arslan-Tash belong.

The palace at Nimrud, where the ivories were found was built by Assur-nazir-pal (885-860 B.C.), and rebuilt or extended by Sargon II (722-705 B.C.), and the inventories of Assyrian kings from the time of Tukultu-Enurta, the predecessor of Assur-nazir-pal, to that of Sennacherib, Sargon's successor, contain several references to ivory and works in ivory which were secured as loot or tribute from the Syrian towns that were conquered at this period (see Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, pp. 79, 91, 93-5, 123, 144, 163, 183, 224, 306). The collection made by Layard is a miscellaneous one, the ivories were carved at different times and in different places, but all must fall within the above limits.

The evidence from Arslan-Tash is more precise. Here the French archaeologists found fragments of an inscription on ivory "to our lord Hazael," and this Hazael they identify with the king of that name who was reigning in Damascus about 840 B.C. when Jehu was king of Israel. This identification is rendered the more plausible by an inscription of Adad-Nirari II (809-792) which mentions beds and stools of ivory in the tribute received from Damascus.

The evidence from Samaria is not so precise as that from Arslan-Tash, but it is satisfactory so far as it goes. Samaria was founded about 875 B.C. and destroyed by the Assyrians in 722. Ahab who reigned from about 870 to about 850 was famous for the "house of ivory" which he built, and the couches of ivory used by the people of Samaria were denounced a few decades later by the prophet Amos.

The external evidence is therefore sufficient to indicate within wide limits the approximate date of these ivories, and the period indicated is that of the early Aramaic letters which are found both at Arslan-Tash and at Samaria. Before we can date our ivories more closely we must try to determine the relative order of the three groups, and here we are on more slippery ground. All three groups are fragmentary and there are so many gaps in our knowledge of their original content that we cannot lay much stress on the presence or absence of any particular subject or pattern in one or other of them. The style of individual pieces is all we have

to guide us, and in works of this kind style can only be very generally appreciated. The ivories are the products of various workshops, and the patterns to which the craftsmen worked in these shops counted for more than the individual character of the craftsmen. Anyone who knows how faithfully Oriental craftsmen in Aleppo or Damascus can reproduce patterns set before them will realise the nature of our problem. However, even after allowing full weight to these considerations, we can, I think, reach some valid conclusions.

The ivories from Samaria fall into two main groups, one with sharply defined characteristics and a second group which has a wider range of variations.

The First Group. The first group is exemplified by the Harpo-crates medallion, the Horus Maat plaque, the Hah plaque, the Isis-Nephthys plaque and a few others.

In this group gold foil and insets of lapis lazuli and other coloured substances were used with a lavish hand, and it is possible that very little of the ivory was left showing. The deeply grooved feathers on the wings, the patterns on ornaments and robes, the leaves and petals of the lotuses, the pupils and eyebrows on the faces, were filled with colour, and in many cases the ivory cloisons between them were covered, in part or in whole, with gold. The gold foil was folded well over the cloisons, but we do not yet know what was used to stick the gold or the coloured substances in place. The coloured insets were of different kinds (see Appendix); two fragments of lapis lazuli were found and several pieces of thin coloured glass, some of them still in position in the shallower troughs; the deeper troughs were filled with coloured paste, in one of these a piece of blue glass overlay a filling of red paste, in another a piece of colourless glass, unfortunately much decayed and perhaps originally coloured, overlay a blue filling. In three cases colourless glass was found above gold foil but these fragments were not in position. The whole effect must have been very brilliant, and the polychrome enrichments may be taken as the most salient characteristic of the group.

The technical skill of the craftsmen and the fineness of the tools at their disposal may be gathered from measurements taken off the fragment of a wing. This fragment is about four centimetres broad and 1.5 centimetres high, parts only of the two outer rows of

feathers are preserved, six on the inner row, twelve on the outer. Both rows were inlaid and much of the blue frit and red paste is still in position. The piece is 7 mm. thick; the ivory cloisons average about 0.8 mm. wide, the inlaid troughs between them, which widen slightly toward the outer edge of the wing, vary in width from about 1.2 mm. to 1.9 mm.; the depth of the troughs varies from 1.9 mm. to 2.2 mm., the deepest part being at the inner, or narrower, edge. Excavations of this fineness, I am told, would be carried out nowadays with a drill, but there is no trace of drilling in this fragment and all the ivory removed must have been cut away with a very fine scorer.

Another salient characteristic of this group is the extreme lowness of the relief.

A third is the simplicity of the borders and the background; both of them were left quite plain; whether they were covered with gold or not we are unable to say.

Lastly, both in subject matter and in drawing the Egyptian character of this group shines out unmistakably. The gestures and attitudes of the figures, the line of the profiles, the long almond eyes, the lotus flowers and other accessories, are all in an Egyptian style. Some of the faults in drawing are also Egyptian, on the Horus-Maat plaque, for example, the Horus has a left hand on the right arm and a right hand on the left arm, and similar mistakes occur on others, mistakes which probably both here and in Egypt were the result of working from patterns in outline.

All the features which characterise our first group are reproduced on one series of the Egyptian ivories from Nimrud, the series which includes the gryphon medallion, and four plaques—the cartouches between seated figures, the Harpocrates, and a *tel* on an inverted lotus base (references given above). On these we see the same lavish use of gold and colour, the same very low relief, the same standard of craftsmanship, the same technical formulae for rendering robes and the belly of the Harpocrates figures, and the same faulty drawing of the hands, though the modelling of the limbs is generally better. One might almost be persuaded that these Nimrud ivories were part of Sargon's loot from Samaria.

This style is hardly if at all represented at Arslan-Tash, and the only other certain example of it known to me is on some fragments

from the Bernardini Tomb at Palestrina (*Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, vol. v, Plate 35, Nos. 13 to 15): the resemblance of these fragments with the Nimrud gryphon medallion jumps to the eye: the comparison has already been made by C. Densmore Curtis (*l.c.*, p. 58) and before him by Poulsen (*Der Orient*, etc., p. 49).

The Second Group. The winged sphinx in pierced work, a second sphinx in relief (unpublished), the lady at the window, and the lion and bull plaques may be taken as examples of the second group.

In some of these there is no trace of any coloured insets whatever, in others only the eyes have been inlaid. The relief, on the other hand, is deeper. The two drooping palms which have been published illustrate two different principles characterising the groups; in number 8, which we assign to the first group the large fronds are trisected by double lines, but the three sections lie side by side in a single plane; in number G the surface of the fronds is also trisected but the sections are represented in a sort of perspective as lying one above the other. An effect of the same kind is obtained in the recessed framework round the lady at the window and also by the representation of a tree in the background behind the sphinxes as well as in front. The insertion of the tree, conventional as it is, is not due, it seems to us, to the *horror vacui* which covers a background with mere room-filling irrelevancies, but was a genuine attempt to give a greater illusion of space.

The ivories of this group from Samaria have suffered relatively more than those of the first group, and better examples of this style with differences have survived at Nimrud and Arslan-Tash. From the Nimrud collection the row of plaques representing a king with a lotus (Layard, 88, 1), the woman at the window (Layard, 88, 3), the binding of the papyrus (Layard, 88, 6), and a winged sphinx (Layard, 89, 12), may be cited as illustrations. On all these the relief is deeper and there are no coloured insets. The sphinx plaques are those which lend themselves most readily to comparison: the attitude of the sphinx is the same on both and there are the same conventionalised plants behind in the background, though the carving of the hair and wings is different. Egyptian elements still dominate the subject matter of these reliefs, but the style is no longer Egyptian though it is not Assyrian, as a glance at the Assyrian or Assyrianising (?) ivories from Nimrud will show. The same

stylistic note, which is neither Egyptian nor Assyrian but seemingly Aramaic, is struck more loudly in the collection from Arslan-Tash. In this collection of ivories also most of the subjects are derived from Egyptian sources but they have been more radically transformed. The child on the flower, for example (A. T. xx-xxiv), still carries the whip of Harpocrates but his sidelock has been forgotten, the left hand is not raised to the lips and the flower is no longer a lotus: the winged supporters of the child wear Egyptian crowns but their costume otherwise is purely Asiatic. With the Asiatic costume we see Asiatic attitudes and proportions, larger, plumper hands, more prominent eyes and noses, roughly cut hair and wings, a standard of workmanship which has neither the merits nor the faults in drawing which are characteristic of the first group. The style of the ivories from Arslan-Tash is close to the style with which we are familiar on so many uncouth reliefs from Aramaic temples and gateways, those at Carchemish, for example, or Senjirli, or Arslan-Tash.

It is only at Samaria and Tell Nimrud that examples of both groups have been found together, and the two styles are so different that it would be dangerous to dogmatize about their mutual relation. The more marked Egyptianizing character of the first group suggests that it should be assigned to a period when Egyptian influences in Palestine are known to have been strong, and on this ground we are inclined to attribute them tentatively to the reign of Ahab and Jezebel, say about 860 B.C. Various pieces from the second group at Samaria (numbers 5, 9, E, G) appear to us to represent somewhat earlier forms than the examples from Arslan-Tash which most closely resemble them, and if the latter belong to the time of Hazael, we shall be brought back to the reign of Ahab for our second group also, and at Samaria the two groups will be practically contemporaneous, the products of different hands or different workshops, not of different periods.

IV. THE IMMEDIATE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FIND.

The debt to Egypt is obvious—*vineam de Aegypto transtulisti*—and it is in keeping with what we know of the political relations between the two countries. In the previous century Shoshenq or Shishak reconquered Palestine; the conquest is recorded at Karnak and his cartouche has been found at Megiddo. Zerah the Cushite who invaded the country a little later has been commonly identified



FIG. 2.—PLAQUE WITH SPHINX OR CHERUB.



FIG. 1. MEDALLION WITH RELIEF OF
HARPOCRATES SEATED ON A LOTUS.



FIG. 2.—TWO-WINGED GODDESSES ADORING A TET.



FIG. 1.—PLAQUE OF ROBED FIGURE.

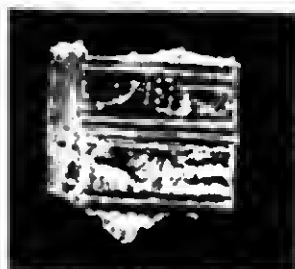


FIG. 4.—TWO ROWS OF HIEROGLYPHS.



FIG. 3.—LION AND BALL.

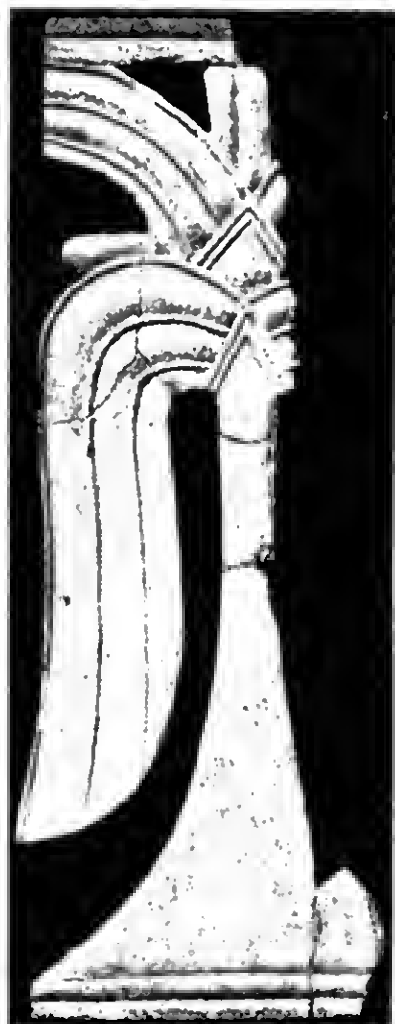


FIG. 1.—A DROOPING PALM.



FIG. 2.—PATTERN OF VOLUTES.



FIG. 3.—"THE LADY AT THE WINDOW."

with another king of the same dynasty, Osorkon I. The cartouche of a third king, Osorkon II, was found by Reisner on an alabaster fragment at Samaria.

In the second place, the style and subjects of the ivories suggest an immediate comparison with the decorations of the temple of Solomon. Figures borrowed from the Egyptian pantheon naturally would be ignored by Biblical writers, but most of our other subjects are mentioned not once but several times in the chapters devoted to Solomon's works (I Kings, chaps. vi-x). The "lions oxen and cherubim," the "cherubim, lions and palm trees," the "lions on the steps of the great throne of ivory," the "oxen beneath the laver," the "nets of checker work," the "wreaths of chain work," the "lily work on the chapiters," to all these we can find parallels: the pomegranates only are wanting at present. And such a verse as that about the doors of the temple—"he carved thereon cherubim and palmtrees and open flowers; and he overlaid them with gold fitted upon the graven work" (I Kings, vi, 35)—describes not only the subjects but the treatment we have studied on the ivories. "Ivory work overlaid with sapphire" (Song of Songs vi, 14) no longer seems an extravagant picture of the body of the beloved, and the spirit of our ivories is the same spirit which is reflected in the forty-fifth Psalm.

Solomon, we know, brought his skilled artificers from Tyre, and M. Thureau-Dangin and his colleagues think that very few of the ivories from Arslan-Tash can have been made in Damascus: most must have come from large export workshops situated in places more accessible to foreign influences (*A.T.*, p. 140). But is it necessary to assume that conditions which prevailed in Solomon's days persisted into the next century? Is it reasonable to reject at once the simpler hypothesis that the Arslan-Tash ivories were carved in Damascus, and those from Samaria in Samaria?

The culture of Samaria was not as the culture of most Israelite cities. Compared with the wretched building on other Israelite sites, Megiddo excepted, the masonry at Samaria is quite extraordinarily fine in dressing, jointing, and bonding. The pottery is plain, but some of it, again like some from Megiddo, is extremely delicate in finish and texture. The writing on the ostraka is the work of ready and practised pen-men. In all these arts which were

certainly pursued on the spot there were skilled workers resident in Samaria, wherever they may have learned their work originally, and it is difficult to see why there may not have been skilled workers in ivory also residing there. A fragment of a tusk and a fragment with a sacred tree pattern which looks unfinished suggest that this was the case, though, of course, they are not sufficient to prove it. Ahah, after all, was one of the most prominent members of the great confederation against Assyria, and all the allies, Damascus, Hamath, Ismel, Egypt, Cilicia, various cities of Phoenicia, and Arah tribes, were presumably in close contact with each other. We imagine that craftsmen circulated with their patterns and materials freely from one court to another (cf. I Kings xx, 34).

APPENDIX ON THE COLOURED INSETS.

Through the good offices of Mr. Glanville and Mr. Shorter we have been able to obtain two expert opinions on specimens of the insets from Samaria.

Several pieces of different coloured substances were submitted for examination to Mr. Horace C. Beck, and we have to thank him warmly for the following report which is published with his kind permission; the specimens with his reference numbers will be offered to the museum at Jerusalem.

REPORT ON PIECES OF INLAY FROM SAMARIA, BY HORACE C. BECK.

There are several different materials used.

Number 726 is a piece of lapis lazuli.

Among the blue specimens were several pieces of black now separated into another bottle, number 729. They have a specific gravity between 2.45 and 2.5. I do not know what this material is. In some ways it suggests bitumen, but it does not polarize so much as specimens of bitumen from Mesopotamia, nor does it dissolve at all in boiling benzene. It is not appreciably affected by hydrochloric acid. When the acid in which it has been boiled is evaporated, it deposits a few small crystals, but these are probably a salt from the sand it has been buried in. As it does not polarize it may be a vitreous material which is partly broken down.

Another fragment (number 729) is highly iridescent and has a somewhat blue appearance. This is a glass which has almost corroded away. A microscopic examination shows that the corroded

part although colourless over the greater part, has certain very opaque black portions very suggestive of the previous specimen.

The remaining pieces of blue (number 731) both rod and other fragments are very similar in appearance to glass from the palace of Amenhotep III.

I do not know what the colouring matter is. In both cases the colour is held as small separate particles of reasonable size, but whilst the Egyptian particles polarize extensively those from Samaria scarcely polarize at all. The specific gravity of these specimens is approximately 2.5.

The green glass is of two totally different varieties. One (number 724) is an oblong cylinder with concentric lines round the cross section. This has a specific gravity of 2.7. The colour of this glass is due to corrosion. Originally it was a brilliant red glass coloured with cuprous oxide. This material has a tendency to change to green in the course of time. Specimens in which there is a coating of green round the red of a thickness of from one to two millimetres are not uncommon in the Mediterranean and are dated from the ninth to seventh centuries B.C. Comparatively large pieces in which the change has gone right through the specimen are found in a fragmentary condition at Ur, but they are not accurately dated.

The fragment in the shape of a truncated triangle (number 725) was also examined. I am not certain about this specimen, but I think it is of the same type as the last. The specific gravity is 2.45.

Another fragment (number 730) appears to be part of a curved rod, possibly a ring. The specific gravity is decidedly under 2.37. This is a quite different type of glass from the last. The remaining uncorroded green portion of this specimen is quite isotropic, whilst the corroded part appears to be very highly crystalline and polarizes brilliantly. The original colour of this specimen was probably green.

The low specific gravity of all these glasses shows that they were a simple form of glass made without lead.

The differences between the glasses made at different periods is so slight that it is not possible to date by them, but there is nothing about these glasses that is inconsistent with a date of 850 B.C. which you have assigned to the ivories.

In a later note Mr. Beck adds :—

The asphalt you have sent is not the same as the black pieces of material among the pieces of inlay.

The black amongst the inlay did not dissolve in boiling benzine and had a specific gravity of 2.45–2.5.

The asphalt you have sent dissolves readily in benzine and has a specific gravity of 1.14. At the same time there is some resemblance between them when examined under the microscope and the inlay may have some infiltration of asphalt in it.

The term hitumen is applied in Mesopotamia to widely different materials. For instance, the inner backing of the lion heads from El Obeid which very much resembles your asphalt has a specific gravity of 1.12. This I take to be practically pure. On the other hand the "hitumen" petals of the decorative flowers of the same date and provenance are almost all quartz grained with an infiltration of hitumen filling the small crevices between. These have a specific gravity of 2.46.

Specimens of the paste in the ivory troughs of the wing described above were submitted to Dr. Plenderleith of the British Museum. The blue inlay was found to be "Egyptian blue," i.e., powdered frit : the red was found to be iron, an ochre pigment. The preparation of the former is discussed by Laurie in *Proc. Royal Soc.*, 1914, 89, 418, and in Campbell Thompson's *Chemistry of the Ancient Assyrians* (1925).

BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHÆOLOGY IN JERUSALEM.

THE twelfth annual general meeting of the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem was held on Thursday, October 6th, 1932, in the Rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London, W.1.

Business Meeting of Subscribers.—The President and Chairman of Council, Sir Frederick Kenyon, G.B.E., F.B.A., presided.

Minutes.—The Hon. Secretary, Prof. J. L. Myres, read the Minutes of the Annual Meeting, held on 2nd October, 1931, which were confirmed and signed.

Apologies.—Letters regretting inability to be present were received from Prof. S. A. Cook, Mr. G. R. Driver, Mr. G. M. Fitzgerald, Prof. J. Garstang, Sir Arthur Keith, Sir Robert Mond, and Mr. R. A. Penny.

Report and Accounts.—The President, moving the adoption of the Report and Accounts, said: "You will notice that the Report deals, first, with the Excavation of Samaria, of which we shall later hear an account from the Director, Mr. Crowfoot; and secondly, with the Excavations in Caves at Athlit, of which reports have appeared from time to time in the Press, of which, no doubt, we shall hear more later, and on which a full publication will have to be prepared.

"With regard to finance, the School has passed through the year reasonably well, and has a certain amount in hand. At the same time, there are liabilities for cave-excavations, the continuance of which has only been made possible by a special grant from the Royal Society to Miss Garrod, and there will be one more season to provide for at Samaria. As you will remember, the original arrangement was that the British share of the Samaria expenses should be divided between the British Academy, the Palestine Exploration Fund and the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem. The British Academy made itself responsible for the first season's contribution; the Palestine Exploration Fund for the second. For the third, the School must do what it can; so next year it will be

necessary to produce additional funds from somewhere. Therefore, if any supporter of the School or the Fund sees his or her way to obtain financial support for the Excavations at Samaria during next season, such support will be most welcome. There will, of course, be the further liability for publication of the results for which, in due course, money will have to be raised."

There being no questions, the Report and Accounts were unanimously adopted, the Report with an addition referring to the recent death of Lord Plumer, and the Accounts subject to audit.

Election of Officers, Council and Auditors.—On the motion of Dr. E. W. G. Masterman, seconded by Mr. E. Woolley, the Officers were unanimously re-elected for the ensuing year.

The Honorary Secretary proposed:—"That Sir Arthur Keith, Dr. E. W. G. Masterman, Rev. Canon W. J. Phythian-Adams and Mr. J. E. Quibell be re-elected for three years, and that Sir Edgar Bonham Carter be elected for one year to fill the vacancy among those elected for three years from October, 1930." This was seconded by Mr. E. Woolley and carried unanimously.

The President explained that Mr. J. E. Quibell and Dr. Masterman had acted as Auditors, but Mr. Quibell had been abroad and had not been able to audit the last Accounts. It was necessary to appoint someone in his stead. Mr. J. W. Crowfoot thereupon proposed that Mr. Buchanan be appointed Auditor (subject to his consent) to serve with Dr. E. W. G. Masterman, and this was unanimously agreed.

There being no further business, the meeting resolved itself into an open meeting of subscribers and friends of the School.

OPEN MEETING OF SUBSCRIBERS AND FRIENDS OF THE SCHOOL.

Sir Charles Close, K.B.E., F.R.S., presided, and opened the proceedings as follows:—

"Let me begin by saying that, as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, I think it is a great honour to have been asked to preside at the Twelfth Annual General Meeting of the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem. It is, if I may say so, a sign, if such were wanted, of the excellent relations that exist between the two bodies, which, so far as this country is concerned, are chiefly responsible for the exploration of Palestine

and the study of its archæology. It will be remembered that the Archbishop of Canterbury, who presided over the Ninth General Meeting of this School, pointed out the desirability of close co-operation between the Fund and the School. In pursuance of this excellent advice, an arrangement was come to between the two bodies, by which we think a full measure of co-operation is assured. But apart from any such formal arrangement, it would be difficult for the Fund and the School to be seriously at cross purposes, because the Executive Committee of the one and the Council of the other are very largely composed of the same individuals. And to this it may be added that the School uses as its office the house of the Fund, employs its Assistant Secretary, and publishes its Bulletin in the Quarterly Statement. It is difficult to imagine closer co-operation.

"Now, can we carry co-operation into the larger field of international effort? There is already occasional and sporadic co-operation, of which we have an excellent example in the excavation of Samaria, now in progress. In this case, Harvard University, the Palestine Exploration Fund, the Hebrew University and the British School are all working happily together, with admirable results. But more usually excavations in Palestine are strictly national, and it is somewhat difficult to keep oneself informed about the progress of current work in the field, though the *Quarterly Statement* helps a good deal, and the Palestine Department of Antiquities, no doubt, serves to some extent as a clearing house of information, and by means of its admirable *Quarterly* supplies information not readily obtainable elsewhere, but then this *Quarterly* is not itself in everybody's hands. One naturally hesitates to suggest any addition to the already formidable list of international organisations; but perhaps something could be done, without undue expense, to bring the various societies and institutions, in this country, France, Germany, America and elsewhere, concerned with the exploration and excavation of the Holy Land, more directly into touch with each other.

"We congratulate ourselves that the School has had a successful year's work. The exploration of the prehistoric cave sites has been most fruitful, and much valuable, if unsensational, information is coming to light as the result of the continued excavation of Samaria,

with Mr. Crowfoot as Director of the work. We all think that it is most desirable that these Samaria excavations should be continued during a third year. It will be remembered that the British School and the Palestine Exploration Fund each agreed to find a thousand pounds, the School for 1931, and the Fund for 1932. This has been done. The question of the provision of funds for 1933 was left a little in the air; but we hoped to be able to find something like the same sum, from British sources, for that year also, to supplement the larger amount provided from America. Now, it will be impossible for the Fund to provide any considerable sum of money, because of the necessity of spending much of its 1933 income upon the re-modelling of its house, an undertaking of some urgency, which will improve the amenities of the house for the School also. It is, therefore, greatly to be hoped that the supporters of the School, who know well what excellent work is in progress, may be moved to contribute specially towards the cost of the continued excavation of Samaria. In fact, we appeal for funds to cover our contribution towards the expenses of a third year's work on that site.

"Before closing this address I would allude, very briefly, to what is, without doubt, one of the most important features of the School's activities, namely, the training which it gives to students in practical field archæology. The value of this training is shown by the fact that most of the students are enabled, after training by the School, to take their part as skilled investigators, and many go direct from the School to independent, professional, practical work.

"I must not delay you any longer, for we are all anxious to listen to Mr. J. W. Crowfoot, Director of the School, who will describe the Joint Excavations at Samaria."

THE EXCAVATION OF SAMARIA.

Mr. J. W. Crowfoot (Director), in describing the Excavation of Samaria, showed a number of slides to illustrate the progress made during 1932 in different parts of the site.

On the summit the walls surrounding the supposed Palaces were traced much further, and the enclosure, previously believed to cover an acre or two at most, now proves to have measured not less than seven or eight acres. Several pictures of the south wall were shown; it was of immense strength, a wall more than 10 feet thick,

built entirely of squared stones on a rock terrace, scarped out of the hill-side. The dressing, jointing and bonding of the stones are unequalled on any other site in Israelite Palestine.

Within the enclosure the expedition found a large number of carved ivory fragments, which formed part of the decoration of furniture that may have stood in Ahab's "house of ivory." The ivory plaques fall into two groups. The first group was in very low relief, and heavily inlaid with lapis lazuli and coloured paste: the subjects were Egyptian, and the style is like that of a small series from the large collection of ivories found by Layard at Tell Nimrud. The second group shows a much more marked Syrian character: the subjects—sphinx-cheruhim, palms, lions, bulls—remind us of the descriptions in the Old Testament of Solomon's works, and in style this group is closely related to some recently found at Arslan-Tash in North Syria by some French archaeologists, and with good reason dated by them to the latter half of the 9th century. The Samaria plaques appear to be rather earlier in style, and they may therefore be assigned to the middle of the 9th century, that is, to the reign of Ahab and Jezebel.

Views were also shown to illustrate the excavations made at the north-east corner of the forecourt of Herod's Augusteum. A great artificial platform was carried out on massive retaining walls, which extended more than 20 yards beyond the original edge of the summit, and the natural configuration of the hill was completely changed.

On the north-east of the site some interesting discoveries were made by a series of soundings in the so-called Hippodrome. It was proved that the Corinthian colonnades, which still show above ground, belong to a late Roman structure, which was built over the remains of an earlier Doric colonnade that may belong to the Herodian period. In both periods the whole structure, which probably included a palaestra and a stadium over 200 yards long, was placed under the protection of Korê. A fine statue of the goddess, dating from the 3rd century A.D., was found, besides some inscriptions and graffiti connected with her worship: the most striking of them was painted in late red letters on a marble fragment—the confession of faith of a monotheist still faithful to the old cult,

it runs, "God is One, the Lord of all : great is Korê, the Unconquered."

The clearance of the Church on the south side of the hill, which was begun in 1931, was completed this year. The church is that described by John Phocas in 1185 A.D.: according to his Greek informers, to whom it then belonged, the church marked the place of the First Invention of the Head of St. John the Baptist, who was supposed by local legend to have suffered in Samaria. A picture of the Invention of the Head was found on the wall of a crypt under the north-east corner of the church, and slides of the crypt and the painting were shown.

Votes of Thanks.—Sir John Chancellor, G.C.M.G., said he had the pleasure of proposing hearty votes of thanks to those to whom subscribers and friends were indebted for a most interesting afternoon. First, he felt sure they would all wish to accord a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Crowfoot for the description he had given of last year's activities in Samaria. Sir John added that nearly eighteen months had elapsed since he was closely connected with Palestine, and he had been particularly interested in progress made since he left, as well as in what Mr. Crowfoot had said with regard to the interest that Samaria had taken, and still took, in John the Baptist. He personally had been unaware of that. Mr. Crowfoot had told the meeting that there were many heads of John the Baptist in Palestine and Syria, but (being unaware of that) the speaker had been not only much impressed when at Damascus he was shown the tomb of John the Baptist, but surprised to learn how greatly honoured the latter was among people of the Moslem world. He had been told also that it was believed by the Moslems that Christ, a greatly honoured prophet among the Moslems even to this day, would on the last day ascend to the minaret of the great Mosque at Damascus and make peace between men and animals. Sir John did not know whether that story was told for his edification by the Moslem who showed him over the Mosque, or whether it was something fairly well known.

He next proposed a vote of thanks to Sir Charles Close for presiding. All present had been much interested in what Sir Charles had said with regard to the need for international co-operation in archæology in Palestine, but the speaker ventured to say that the

Chairman had been a little hard on the Administration in Palestine in that respect. When he was in the country there was in existence that most valuable body, the Archæological Advisory Committee, on which every nation interested in archæology had a representative and, thanks to the Director of Archæology, Mr. Richmond, that part of the administrative system had worked in the greatest harmony. Apart from that there was the co-operation with Mr. Crowfoot of the Americans and others, while in other archæological activities there had also been co-operation between various nations. Sir Charles had voiced the limitations, but it was hoped that co-operation would be extended to meet his wishes. When the Archæological Museum, now being built as a result of the benevolence of Mr. J. D. Rockefeller, Jnr., was completed, co-operation and free exchange of knowledge among those engaged in archæology would doubtless be greatly facilitated. Sir John went on to express the view that the present was not the time to ask for extension of the operations of archæologists. Even the Americans, to whom so much was due, were passing through such difficult times that their activities in Palestine would, doubtless, be greatly curtailed within the next year or two. When the world looked up again it might be possible for some body to undertake the excavation of such places as Askalon, where there appeared to be possibility of great discoveries, probably Greek or Roman, but even such sites were of interest to those concerned with Hebrew and more ancient finds.

Finally, Sir John added thanks to the Society of Antiquaries for generously allowing subscribers and friends of the School to meet in its rooms.

The votes of thanks having been accorded amid hearty acclamation, the Chairman returned thanks and, added: "I should like to say that the Palestine Exploration Fund some years ago made an effort in connection with Askalon. It is a very big site and needs much money, but if anyone is prepared to put down that money, we will make a start almost immediately. In conclusion, may I draw your attention to the maps prepared by the Government of Palestine, much more detailed than any previously published map of Palestine, and on the scale of 3 inches to the mile."

REPORT FOR THE SEASON, 1931-1932.

THE Council has to record with deep regret the death of Mr. C. E. Mott, whose services as Honorary Secretary since 1920 were of great value to the School during a difficult period. His quiet devotion to its work, and to Palestinian studies, will be much missed by all who knew him. More recently the death of Lord Plumer has deprived the School of a distinguished Vice-President, who as High Commissioner in Palestine was its constant friend, and after his retirement presided over one of its Annual Meetings and made a strong appeal in support of its work.

The Council has to report a year of unusually successful work. Both at Samaria and at Athlit the School's discoveries have been among the most striking made in Palestine since the War. The number of students is well maintained, and the School has been able to render assistance to scholars travelling in Palestine.

General.—In Jerusalem no change has been made in the arrangements described last year. The Library is still housed in the American School of Oriental Research and we still occupy a room in the French Archaeological School of St. Stephen. We beg the authorities of both these Schools again to accept an expression of our deep gratitude to them. Without their generous assistance it would be impossible for the School with its exiguous means to continue work in any field.

The Director proceeded to Palestine immediately after the Annual Meeting on the 2nd October, 1931, in order to undertake excavations on the threshing floor at Samaria. Work is only possible here during the autumn when the threshing is over, and was continued until the second week of December when heavy rains rendered further work impossible. The next month was spent partly in Egypt and partly in Italy. In Egypt further operations in Samaria were discussed again with Professor Reisner, the leader of the earlier Harvard Expedition. Before the end of January the Director returned to Jerusalem, where he delivered two lectures, and work

at Samaria was resumed on a larger scale before the middle of March. It was continued until the end of June.

Excavation of Samaria. During the short autumn campaign the staff included two representatives of the Hebrew University, Dr. Sukenik and Mr. Reiss; two students of the School, Miss Barr and Mr. Wright; an architect, Mr. J. Pinkerfeld, and Mrs. Crowfoot. Our work on the village threshing floor which covers the area once occupied by the Roman Forum and before this, perhaps, by the main Israelite East Gate, threw new light on the construction of the Roman Forum and the great changes in the natural configuration of this spot made since Israelite times. We also found a Roman conduit of admirable construction which we were able to explore for a length of one hundred metres or so. Portions of Israelite masonry were uncovered at various points; these gave further evidence of the extent of the old town fortifications, but they were too fragmentary to enable us to identify them certainly with a gateway.

During the spring campaign, the staff in addition to those who had been with us in the autumn included four representatives of Harvard, Professor Lake, Professor Blake, Mrs. New and Miss Lake; three former students of the British School, Miss Bentwich, Miss Kenyon and Mr. Buchanan; a student of the American School, the Rev. Dr. H. H. Walker; and for a short time, Mr. Edward Harris, of Glasgow University, Mrs. Harris, Mr. Benedict Magnes, and Miss J. Crowfoot.

The beautiful series of ivories which were found close to the spot where Ahab's "house of ivory" must have stood were, of course, the greatest of our discoveries, but several other finds of the first importance were made. To speak first of the Israelite remains, the line of the south wall of the Palace enclosure was traced for another hundred and fifty metres, and its massive character and unique construction much more clearly revealed: three early capitals of the Proto-Ionic type were found close by it. On the north side we cleared more casemates like those which were excavated on the west side; and we found the red guiding lines of the masons still visible on the rock close to the bottom foundational course. In an excavation east of the village two ostraca with Hebrew inscriptions of some length were found.

Among the discoveries of the Roman period, the north eastern substructures of the courtyard of the Augusteum on the summit were completely cleared and three main periods of construction satisfactorily distinguished; in the so-called Hippodrome extensive remains of a Doric colonnade were found below the existing Corinthian colonnade, besides some remarkable inscriptions and statues connected with the cult of Korê; one of the statues, in almost perfect preservation, showing the goddess with a flaming torch in one hand and a pomegranate and ears of corn in the other.

Excavations in Caves at Athlit. Though Miss Garrod was unable to return to Palestine till the autumn of 1932, Mr. T. D. McCown resumed work in the spring with the assistance of Mr. T. P. O'Brien and Mr. Movius, at the cave Mugharet-es-Sukhul, where the remains of a child were found in the Mousterian deposit last year. He has now succeeded in exposing no less than eight more individuals which appear to combine Neanderthaloid physical features with some clearly Neanthropic ones. Their flint industry is of well-developed Levallois type, with tortoise-cores, blades, and burins, including angle-gravers with faceted butt.

The skeleton of the child found last year has been cleared and examined by Mr. McCown and Sir Arthur Keith at the Royal College of Surgeons in London, and has been assigned by them to a new type, *Palaeanthropus palestinus*, together with the Neanderthaloid fragments from Zuttiyeh cave in Galilee, and teeth from the Shukbah cave in Judaea, all found in former excavations of the British School.

Throughout this exploration of the caves at Athlit the British School has enjoyed the co-operation of the American School of Prehistoric Research, which has contributed one-half of the funds, and has sent each season one or more of its students to take active part in the work. Especial mention must be made in this connexion of the services of Mr. T. D. McCown, both as field-director in Miss Garrod's absence, and in the laborious and expert task of clearing the skeleton of the child and preparing it for publication.

At the International Congress for Prehistoric and Protohistoric Studies, held in London in August, 1932, Miss Garrod and Mr. McCown presented communications on their discoveries in Palestine Caves, and Sir Arthur Keith explained the exceptional importance of the human remains. A summary report is printed in *Man* for October, 1932.

Finance.—On comparing this year's accounts with those of last year, 1930-31 (October 1 to September 30), it will be seen that in spite of the difficult financial circumstances of the past twelve months, the position of the School remains fairly satisfactory. The apparent drop in *Subscriptions and Donations* is accounted for by the generous donation of £350 last year from the Hon. Treasurer, Sir Robert Mond. The large balance at the close of the account results (a) from the refund of two year's instalments of the Director's Salary from the Samaria Fund ; (b) from the fact that we have not had to print any *Memoir* this year, such as that on the "*Churches at Jerash*" in 1931 ; (c) from the delay in Miss Garrod's arrival in Palestine, and the employment of the whole of the increased subsidy (£500) received from the American School of Prehistoric Research during this year, to pay for Mr. McCown's excavation in the spring. It should be noted, however, that the greater part of the School's financial liability for Cave-excavation this autumn has been sustained by a generous grant of £450 from the Royal Society, which has been paid to Miss Garrod direct, and consequently does not appear in the accounts of the British School.

Students. Six students were admitted, or re-admitted, to the School :—

Miss H. I. H. Barr (1931, London School of Oriental Languages) worked principally at modern Arabic but joined the staff of the Samaria expedition for both campaigns.

Miss Muriel Bentwich (1931) rejoined the staff of the Samaria Expedition for the spring campaign, and undertook the registration of objects.

Lieut.-Commander A. G. Buchanan (1928) also rejoined the staff at Samaria, and made a survey of the whole site in addition to making the plans of the actual fields excavated.

Miss K. M. Kenyon, B.A. (1931, Somerville College, Oxford), also rejoined the Samaria Expedition and was in charge of the excavation on the summit where the ivories were found and also of the work at the north-east corner of the temple forecourt.

Mr. T. P. O'Brien (1932) came to us from the excavations conducted at Tell Ajjul by the British School of Archaeology in Egypt, and joined Mr. T. McCown in the work at Mugharet-es-Sukhul.

Rev. Ninian Wright, B.D. (1931, Aberdeen University) was with us at Samaria on both the excavations and did excellent work on the coins and inscribed Rhodian jar handles of which some five hundred have been found. Between the two excavations Mr. Wright travelled about the country and also visited Egypt.

Distribution of Duplicate Antiquities.—By the courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, the School has been enabled to distribute representative series of objects from its excavation in the Athlit Caves, to the British Museum and to subscribing institutions as follows:—The Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Manchester, Glasgow, and Toronto, and the McGill University, Montreal.

A similar series from subsequent work will be distributed shortly to subscribing institutions in accordance with the amount of their subscriptions.

Publications.—The *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund, which incorporates the *Bulletin* of the School, included the following articles on the work of the School during the past year:—

January, 1932. *Excavations at Samaria.* By J. W. Crowfoot, C.B.E., M.A. Report for the Season, 1930-1931.

Excavations in the Wady El-Mughara, 1931. By Miss Dorothy Garrod.

April, 1932. *The Expedition to Samaria, Sebustiya.* By J. W. Crowfoot, C.B.E., M.A.

July, 1932. *The Expedition to Samaria: Recent Discoveries, and Samaria: Proposals for 1933.* By J. W. Crowfoot, C.B.E., M.A.

Besides these, the following articles have also appeared:—

Associazione Internazionale Studi Mediterranei, Bollettino for February and March, 1932, *Excavations at Samaria*, by J. W. Crowfoot.

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF CHRISTIAN ARCHAEOLOGY.

By J. W. CROWFOOT, M.A., C.B.E.

This Congress was opened on the 25th September last. Proceedings lasted from the 25th September until the 3rd October. More than thirty years have elapsed since the Second Congress was held and there was naturally a great deal of progress to report. The first four days which were spent in Ravenna were divided between visits to the Christian remains in the city and neighbourhood, and sessions at which the discoveries made in recent years were reviewed. The penultimate session was devoted to Palestine and Trans-Jordan : Père Abel opened this session with a general account of the latest researches in the two countries, paying a very generous tribute to the work of the British School at Jerash. He was followed by Dr. Mader who showed some admirable slides of the wonderful mosaics which he uncovered last winter at Tabgha in the church built to commemorate the miraculous feeding of the five thousand, and the Director of the British School then described the Greek Church of St. John the Baptist at Samaria.

Interesting as many of these sessions were, the visits to the new works which have been carried out at Ravenna were of even greater interest, at least to the foreign members of the Congress. In the church of San Vitale the original form of the entrance has been restored and the floor of the whole building lowered to its proper level : in the course of the work some considerable fragments of ancient glass were found and removed to a new museum which has been opened near the church. Other works have been carried out in the Tomb of Galla Placidia and in the Chapel of S. Andrew in the Archiepiscopal palace. The writer only heard one criticism of the new works ; it was felt by many that the light thrown by the new alabaster windows both at San Vitale and in Galla Placidia's tomb is too yellow, and the green and blues in the mosaics suffer.

On the 30th September about 300 members of the Congress started on an excursion across the Adriatic. They went by steamer to Pola, thence to Parenzo and then on to Trieste. From Trieste on the following day, after visiting the church of San Giusto, the Congress moved by road to Aquileia, and from Aquileia by steamer through the lagoons to Grado. On Sunday morning we visited the

churches at Grado and proceeded thence by train to Venice, from which we went in the afternoon to Torcello. The proceedings were closed on the Monday after a visit to St. Mark's.

A prodigious amount of work, not incomparable with recent excavations in other parts of Italy, has been accomplished at all these places within the last few years, and the remains of one or two or more earlier buildings beside, or under, the very ancient churches, which have been long familiar, have been brought to light. In most cases, at Parenzo and Aquileia, for example, little except the very remarkable and extensive mosaic floors of the earlier churches remains, the building material of the walls having obviously been used again and again just as in Palestine, but these floors are of outstanding interest. The writer felt that not one, but several, new chapters in the history of church architecture were being discovered.

The plans made for conveying the *Congressisti* from one place to another were admirably conceived and as admirably executed under the direction of Dr. R. Bartoccini whom the writer had last seen at Amman, and everywhere the local authorities and the local archaeologists vied with one another in making our visit pleasant and profitable.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

In the May and August issues of the *Expository Times*, the Rev. Dr. J. W. Jack continues his surveys of recent Biblical archaeology. In the former he draws attention to the excavations at Telcilât Ghassul and the inscribed objects (see *Q.S.*, April, plate 1, facing p. 76) which, after causing considerable astonishment and speculation,¹ are now of too uncertain an origin to be discussed. Dr. Jack reports that tablets near Nineveh, of about 1100 B.C., include a clay envelope with the name of the writer on the top and his address in the lower half; the dealer's name contains the element Yakuh, i.e., Jacob. Of the Ras Shamra tablets (*Q.S.*, pp. 154, *sqq.*) he observes that "the closest analogies and parallels appear to be with the later books of the Bible, such as Isaiah, Ezekiel, Daniel and Job, a fact which seems to show that the Canaanite influence on the literature of Israel was late in reaching its climax." Similarly in the Amarna Letters there are some parallels with the later books (*Camb. Anc. Hist.*, ii, 338, *sqq.*). May not the reason be that of the older literature only the popular Israelite writings have been preserved, and not those that would illustrate the early Canaanite culture?

Father Mallon himself writes a short account of his work at Telcilât Ghassul in the Bulletin of the *Associazione Internazionale Studi Mediterranei* (April-May). The site is of special importance by reason of its great antiquity, which, in the opinion of some authorities, may go back even before the third millennium B.C. In this case it will be the most ancient occupation of "Proto-historical" times—that is, of course, excepting the "Pre-historic" remains, now the centre of animated discussion. The place, to judge from the pottery, seems to have been finally destroyed towards the end of the first or the beginning of the Second Bronze Age, that is, about 2000 B.C. After this catastrophe the site was no longer occupied. Among the chief features of interest now are no longer the "inscribed" stones, but mural paintings, and Father Mallon believes that he could recognise a series of six or seven persons facing the east and regarding some object with rays. The

¹ Thus Professor Albright (*The Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*, p. 189), speaks of the "astonishing collection" from a stratum of the third millennium B.C.

first two have their feet upon a small stool, and appear to be seated. In front of them, before the rayed object, is a smaller figure, tentatively supposed to be a priest or ministrant. Another decoration represented a bird painted in black and looking towards the west. Father Mallon, who gives these interpretations with the utmost reserve, considers that the dwellings in which they were found were private houses, in which case he remarks that painting must have become common in that civilization. Father Mallon writes a more introductory article on this and the neighboring sites in *Biblica*, pp. 194-201.

Orientalia is a new journal edited by the professors of the Pontifical Biblical Institute at Rome (Piazza Pilotta 35, Rome [101]). The opening number contains articles by Furlani (Barhebræus on the rational soul), Mordtmann and Mittwoch (Old South Arabian inscriptions), Graf (the Coptic family of the Aulad al-Assäl), Suys (the Egyptian "Dialogue of the Pessimist with his Soul"), Witzel (notes on the myth of Ishtar's descent to Hell), G. R. Driver (two Sumerian inscriptions at Oxford), N. Schneider (the Adah calendar of months). The journal will contain articles and reviews; it will range over the whole of the ancient orient, but all matters and questions relating to the Bible will continue to be published in *Biblica*. Its price per volume will be 94 Italian liras (outside Italy, 100). The new undertaking will be warmly welcomed, the more especially as it is—apparently—not restricted to Roman Catholic writers, as is *Biblica*.

In the *Revue Biblique*, April, Father Abel concludes his "exploration of the south-east of the valley of the Jordan." During the Byzantine period an intensive monastic life prevailed there, the monks emulating the austerity of their great precursor, John the Baptist. A new Zoar was created by the monks, impelled by the story of Lot's abode in the regions of Sodom (Gen. xiii, 12, in the Septuagint), and Lot was canonised. Father Abel ends up with some comments on the growth of the traditions " . . . le dumping

hagiotopique est plutôt de nature à susciter une légitime défiance." Father Vincent (*Céramique et Chronologie*, pp. 262-284) writes on the caution to be used in relying upon pottery criteria. Discussing the chronology of Jericho, he shows that the amount of labour that has been bestowed upon that site from first to last in order to obtain a reasoned chronological scheme, is "la plus décisive condamnation de la méthode de fouille en simples tranchées." The problem of the destruction of Jericho and the date of Joshua's invasion is bound up with highly technical questions both of archaeology and the interpretations of the Biblical evidence. Prof. Albright, for example, in his latest pronouncement (*Archæology of Palestine and the Bible*), considers that the Israelite conquest extended intermittently over a fairly lengthy period, culminating in the second half of the third century; and Father Vincent (p. 276 n) cites him as dating the fall of Jericho between 1600 and 1500, "from about 1500 to the eleventh century the site for certainty was unoccupied, as attested by definite biblical tradition." This last statement, however, is from an article dated 1924. Vincent then proceeds to discuss the tomb of Ahiiram in Byblos, containing the oldest known Phœnician inscription. The tomb, however, had been violated, and it is the question of the date of this that he raises in the course of a vigorous examination of M. Dussaud's views. More *à propos* here are his paragraphs on the Beth-Shemesh ostrakon discovered and published by Prof. Elihu Grant. Found in a stratum which could be dated about 1700-1500 B.C., it bore signs, some of which had a certain resemblance to the Semitic script, so that it was tempting to regard them as among the early efforts to form an alphabet. It was, in fact, a "Proto-Semitic" experiment. Dussaud, on the other hand, regarded it as Phœnician of about 900 B.C. Father Vincent now points out that there is a curious resemblance between the signs and certain of those in the so-called "Ebers Medical Papyrus" of the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty. In a word, he ventures to compare the Egyptian "hieratic ostraka" (mostly of the XVIIIth-XXth Dynasties), and presents side by side a copy of the ostrakon and specimens of "cursive hieratic" Egyptian. He suggests that the ostrakon was prepared as a memorandum for some Egyptian overseer or official. Its date will still be towards the middle of the second millennium B.C., but it is for the Egyptologists to pronounce whether the suggestion

is tenable. Altogether, the great Palestinian archaeologist's article is an excellent piece of critical reasoning. There is also a valuable review (pp. 306 ff.) of M. Dussaud's recent volume, *La Lydie et ses voisins aux hautes époques*, and of M. Chapouthier's *Les écritures Minoennes au Palais de Mallia*, criticising his view that the Phœnician alphabet was derived from Egyptian via the Minoan scripts.

In the *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, Vol. xvi. 1-2, T. W. Rosmarin collects the Babylonian-Assyrian references to Arabin and the Arnhs. The term Arnhs is used quite generally of "Bedouins" and, like the term "Arahin," could be applied to Transjordan and the Hauran. He maintains the view that Musri (Mizraim, Egypt) must in certain cases refer to some district in the northern part of the Arahian peninsula, but he does not press this view to the extreme lengths that were familiar a quarter of a century ago, and confines this particular usage to the latter part of the eighth century (time of Tiglath-Pileser III and Sargon). The "Arabs" played an important part in Assyrian politics then and later, and Rosmarin records the important fact, often overlooked, that after the fall of Samaria, various "Arnh" tribes were settled in the land by Sargon. One of them (Khaiapa) is commonly identified with the Midianite name Ephah (Gen. xxv, 4). In the seventh century "Arabs," including men of Kedar, caused much trouble east of the Jordan; and, as some historians have recognised, the activity of the "Arabs" along with the later movements of Edomites and Nabataeans in the south are of great value for our knowledge of the general conditions in and about the VIIIth to the Vth centuries B.C. Rosmarin's article contains a complete survey of the material for the "Arabs," and we draw attention to the subject since it easily happens that, when one studies the archaeological history of Palestine and Syria, one overlooks evidence bearing upon the social or economic conditions simply because it is not mentioned in the Old Testament or in this or the other history book upon which one is relying.

In the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, April, Professor Albright reviews recent works on the topography and archaeology of Jerusalem (pp. 409-416). He agrees that the line of foundations excavated by

Sukenik and Mayer must be the Third Wall, the wall of Agrippa. The Noh of Isaiah x, 32 he now locates at the modern village of et-Tor on the Mount of Olives proper, and Bahurim is to be found on Ras et-Temim. Allright's criticism of Jerusalem topography here is, like all his topographical work, extremely suggestive and stimulating. *A propos* of Dalman's excellent work on the physical topography of Jerusalem—a remarkable achievement for the distinguished author, now seventy-five years of age—he explains Millo to mean primarily “terrace filling,” then “an artificial elevation,” and finally “citadel.” Ancient fortresses were constantly being rebuilt on the old ruins, and thus came to tower over the surrounding city. At Tell et-Ful (Gibeah) Allright found six metres of *débris* of older fortress inside the sloping glacis of the Maccabæan fortress and below its occupation level. He explains Tophet from the Arabic *tafat* for *ṭafat*, “defilement”; the idea of burning (after Aramaic and Arabic words for “brazier”) is, he says, purely secondary. “Studies in the Economics of the Bible,” by Eli Ginzberg is more of sociological interest, as also is the article by Solomon Zeitlin in the July issue on “The Am Haarez,” i.e., the “people of the land,” whom he identifies with the county farmers, who joined the revolutionary party against the Romans and the Jewish State.

In the *Archiv Orientalni*, April, perhaps the article of most general interest is that by S. Veivin on the true nature of the early alphabets (pp. 71-78). He explains why the first so-called “alphabets” appeared in the Semitic or similar languages where “the main meaning of a word depended on its consonantal skeleton, while the vowels were of secondary importance.” For only there “could there be a series of signs each standing for a combination like *ba*, *be*, *bi*, etc., *ga*, *ge*, *gi*, and so on.” “A syllabo-alphabetic signary like this,” he remarks, “was the last step towards true alphabets.” In connexion with this we may quote from the *Cambridge Anc. Hist.*, iii, 424: “The Egyptian scribes of the Amarna age knew the Assyrian syllabary (*Sa*), and they had even attempted to simplify the cuneiform, writing *ga-a-al* for *gal*, *da-ab* for *dab*, *ru-um* for *rum*. From this analysis of syllables the next step might have been to reduce *da*, *di*, etc., to *d*, *ga*, *gi*, etc. to *g*, so that finally, thanks to the essential consonantal nature of Semitic languages, such varying

forms as *malak*, *malik*, *malku*, could be recognised as based upon *m*, *l* and *k*." In the same issue Hrozný writes on the Assyrians and Hittites in Asia Minor towards 2000 B.C., and on a Hurrite tablet from Ras Shamra containing a list of Hurrite names of deities including, it would seem, the well-known Phœnician goddess Tanith. The view gains ground that a Hurrite or Horite people exercised considerable influence over Syria and Palestine round about 2000-1500 B.C., and left their name in the Biblical "Horite" and *Kharu*, an Egyptian name for Palestine. Hrozný draws attention to the way in which the tablets from el-Amarna in Egypt, from the Hittite Boghaz-keui, in Anatolia, and from Ras Shamra, in Phœnicia, mutually supplement each other and confirm the brilliant decipherment which we owe to Hans Bauer, Father Dhorme and Ch. Virolleaud.

D. W. Baneth writes on the old Canaanite epic from Ras Shamra in the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* (cols. 449-453), a journal invaluable for its reviews of current Oriental literature. Among these may be specially mentioned G. Kittel's review of the (German) volume by Beyer and Lietzmann, on the Jewish catacombs of the Villa Torlonia, in Rome.

Further information on the results of the excavations at Minet el-Beida and Ras Shamra are given by P-A Claude Schaeffer, in *Syria*, 1932, i, pp. 1-27 (with seventeen plates). There is a brief independent *résumé* in the *Archiv für Orientforschung*, pp. 297 ff. One of the most interesting of discoveries was the place of archives and a writing school for young priests. Here were numerous cuneiform tablets, with lists of Sumerian words, and a vocabulary translating Sumerian words into an unknown tongue. Some noteworthy examples of the nude goddess were found, differing in details from the usual types, though whether she is to be identified with Astarte or some other of the various female deities in the rich pantheon of Ras Shamra has yet to be determined. M. Schaeffer finds evidence for the cult of priest-kings, and fertility cults of the dead. The site was already important, and possessed a sanctuary in the XIIth dynasty, but its most flourishing period was about the XVth-XIVth centuries. It suffered temporary eclipse in the XIIIth cent., doubtless after the capture of North Syria and Phœnicia by the Hittites. Everywhere the excavators found signs of a violent

destruction. The ancient name of the site, it is now thought, was not (Baal) Zaphon (or a similar spelling), but Ugarit, named in the Amarna letters.

In the same number of *Syria*, Dhorme discusses the Japhetic list in Gen. x (pp. 28-49). He confines himself to a purely objective statement of the facts as recorded in the Old Testament and the monuments. The descendants of Javan, the Ionians, are located in Cyprus, Rhodes and Tartessus; the sons of Gomer, the Cimmerians, belonged to the north of Asia Minor and colonised Scythia; the Medes formed the liaison between Persia and the East, while on the sea the Tyrsenians or Etruscans (Tirash) were pirates until they settled on the Tyrrhenian coasts and in Tuscany.

The article "Sea-wards," in *The New Judaea* (No. 8, p. 121ff), by D. Ben-Gurion, may be mentioned here for its claim that the Palestinian has an interest in the sea. "The sea is the natural bridge uniting our small country with the world; it is an organic, economic and political part of Palestine." The people of the sea-coast are looking out sea-wards, and the new Jewish settlements on or near the shore of the Mediterranean are in touch with seaports, which will some day replace those of Tyre and Sidon. "Let it be remembered that Palestine is made up of land and sea." The writer of the article briefly sketches the early history of the sea coast; and his comments upon the old life of Israel away from the sea may be supplemented by the observation of Sir George Adam Smith that Jews "have never been known to fame as admirals or ship captains, and are very seldom found as sailors."¹ It may be added that among the questions that arise in the modern study of ancient Palestine is that of the true relation between the Hebrews known as Israelites and living inland and their very near kinsmen of the coastlands.

S. A. C.

¹ *Encyclopædia Biblica*, art. "Trade and Commerce," § 45.

The Mediterranean. By Fletcher Allan and A. M. Hyamson. One of the "Little Guides." 261 pp. 31 illustrations and 2 maps. London: Methuen and Co., Ltd. 5s. 1932.

A little guide this surely is, easily carried in the pocket, clearly printed, well bound and charmingly illustrated. It covers so wide an area that condensation has necessarily been carried to an extreme degree. But if supplemented by more complete works it is a safe guide. The Bibliography is too limited—being confined to the works of one publisher—to give the traveller the guidance he needs, and Palestine and Syria, it seems to us, deserve more notice. But with these limitations the handy volume may profitably find its way into the pocket of every traveller cruising in the Mediterranean.

E.W.G.M.

The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Vol. xii for 1930-1931. *The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim*, Vol. 1. *The Pottery of the First Three Campaigns*, by William Foxwell Albright (New Haven, 1932, xxi + 94 pp.). 71 plates and 15 figures in the text.

Professor Albright is one of the most versatile of the scholars who are now engaged in the study of Palestinian archaeology, and his friends may be pardoned if they have sometimes had a feeling of regret that so considerable a part of his time and energies should be absorbed in working in the field, since there is unfortunately no doubt that the tasks of directing the course and publishing the results of an excavation involve an amount of laborious routine which cannot easily be combined with the researches of a student. Any such regrets should be dispelled by this admirable monograph on the pottery found by the author at Tell Beit Mirsim during the three seasons of excavation (1926, 1928 and 1930) of which he has given an account in his recent work *The Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*. In the present publication Prof. Albright displays not only that detailed familiarity with his finds, which only the excavator can possess, but also a wide acquaintance with other sites in Palestine and the neighbouring regions; moreover he has known how to present his material in a most clear and well-ordered fashion. Admittedly a work of this kind can hardly appeal to a wide circle of

readers, and even for the archaeologist there must, in the nature of the case, be many pages which are not altogether easy reading, but the author's alertness in analysing the evidence afforded by his finds has a stimulating quality which keeps weariness at bay.

The monograph is divided into six chapters corresponding with the principal periods of occupation, from the last phase of the Early Bronze Age to the beginning of the 6th century B.C., when the site was finally abandoned; a more convenient division into short sections (numbered consecutively 1-121) is used for purposes of reference. The pottery is copiously illustrated; plates 1-40 are from photographs by Dr. Aage Schmidt (to whose industry the author pays a merited tribute), the remaining 31 plates reproduce line drawings by various hands. A table relating to the pottery illustrated on the plates to the relevant paragraph in the text, together with a full table of contents, serves all the purposes of an index. Prof. Albright shews a very laudable desire to ensure completeness of illustration, but carries it almost to excess, with the result that several of the photographs suffer from being overcrowded, and that many of the drawings (especially of shapes from the upper level) seem to differ from one another in no significant respect.

It is obviously impossible in a review to follow the author through all the details of his exposition, but we can indicate some of his general conclusions, especially with reference to his dating of the various strata. Tell Beit Mirsim is an exceptionally well stratified site, in which no less than fourteen levels have been distinguished; of these the most important are the following: "J" (Early Bronze III), "G" (Middle Bronze I), "D" (Middle Bronze II), "C₂" (Later Bronze II), "B₂" (E. I. I., the Philistine phase), and "A₂" (E. I. II, the latest period of occupation). Professor Albright in his first chapter begins by attacking the question of the development of the ledge handle which is a characteristic feature of E. B. A. jars, and comes to the conclusion that it originated in the Egyptian Delta, appeared in Southern Palestine about 3000 B.C., and developed there on much the same lines as in Egypt, falling into disuse about 1800 B.C. However, in a postscript to the Preface he admits, with typical candour, that the evidence from Megiddo shews that the history of this type of handle is more complicated than he supposed. The second chapter deals with four strata J-F, which are

assigned to Middle Bronze I. To us it seems somewhat unfortunate that the author should have thought it convenient to include both J and H under this heading, since, though certain Middle Bronze characteristics are beginning to appear, the pottery of Level J, at any rate, seems more closely related to Early Bronze types than to those of the succeeding period. It must be granted that in so doing he is following the recognised chronological classification in which the Middle Bronze Age begins at 2000 B.C., since his dating for J and H is 20th-19th centuries. In stratum G (19th-18th cent.) we are clearly in a Middle Bronze context: ledge handles disappear, carinated bowls become abundant, and piriform juglets are found together with those of a long pointed shape with pinched lip. The succeeding level F, which is of little importance, ends about 1750 B.C. The author observes, in passing, that these strata are somewhat older than "Cave 28 II" at Gezer, which he assigns to the period 1750-1600, but takes note at the same time of the absence of carinated bowls from the early tombs of Byblos (c. 1844-1787 B.C.). Strata E-D (Middle Bronze II) cover the Hyksos period. There is a full discussion of the pottery types of D, amongst which we may note carinated vessels on a high trumpet foot (one with a rich white slip, burnished), black incised piriform juglets with button base ("Tell el-Yahudiyyeh ware"—sometimes called punctured ware) and Cypriote-Phœnician base-ring ware. The last-named is the subject of an excursus in which evidence from Egypt (Mayānah and elsewhere) is brought forward to prove that it appeared there as well as in Palestine before the middle of the 16th century. The scarabs of level D are illustrated (Figs. 5 and 6) and discussed, the conclusion being that most of them belong to the Second Intermediate period, which may be dated to the 17th or early 16th century. The author inclines to the belief that the destruction of this stratum took place shortly after the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt, but that the correct date of this event is c. 1560 B.C., twenty years later than that which is ordinarily assigned to it.

There were only scanty remains of the first level of re-occupation (C₁) but the succeeding stratum, C₂, which seems to have lasted from about the time of Amenophis III to that of Rameses II (c. 1400-1230?), provides a typical collection of Late Bronze Age pottery, including many painted fragments. Its closest analogies are said

to be found in the Amenophis III and Seti I levels of Beth-shan ; it is therefore somewhat surprising to read that both base-ring ware and white-slip milk-houls are believed to have been imported (or at any rate imitated locally) up to the very end of the duration of stratum C₂. In the Seti I level at Beth-shan they are conspicuous by their absence.

Chapter V deals with stratum B (Early Iron I), which is divided into three levels, of which B₂ is held to represent the Philistine period. Prof. Albright holds strongly to the opinion that the class of pottery called Philistine was (as he puts it) introduced into the southern Coastal Plain by the Philistines and diffused by their conquests and commercial relations. His reasons are fully stated in a discussion of some three pages, and probably all his readers will be ready to agree that the pottery in question was in fact characteristic of the Philistines during the period immediately following their occupation of southern Palestine, and this is all that his argument seems to demand.¹ A further excursus concerning the date of the Philistine invasion involves an enquiry into that of Rameses III ; his reign is assigned to c. 1180-1150 (1080-1050, on p. 57, being an obvious misprint), and the Philistine pottery is thought to have made its appearance in neighbouring territories by about 1150 B.C. The result of this calculation is to allow between 50 to 100 years for the occupation of the first E I stratum, the pottery of which is of very poor quality.

The author goes into considerable detail in his description of Iron Age types of pottery ; we may confine ourselves to mentioning that in his opinion the period to which the Philistine pottery belongs closes some time before 950, and that the subsequent stratum (B₂) comes to an end with the invasion of Shishak, c. 922 B.C. The last phase in the history of the site is represented by the well-preserved stratum A (E. I. II) which seems to have yielded a great mass of unbroken pottery ; this is the subject of careful commentary and almost lavish illustration, which will add to the value of this monograph as a work of reference.

¹ On the other side it may be urged that any people occupying this area and in touch with the Mediterranean influences would naturally have used pottery of this type during the twelfth century B.C., and that it is, therefore, not characteristic of the Philistines *as such*. Omission to observe that pottery forms are distinctive of a period at least as much as of a race is perhaps responsible for the early date assigned to certain tombs at Tell el-Far'eh.

Prof. Albright's attention to detail is conspicuous in his occasional observations upon features which are common to several periods, but which undergo certain modifications of form, such as the inverted rims of bowls, and various types of cooking pots. This quality helps to make his work indispensable to any student of the archæology of Palestine.

G. M. FITZGERALD.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
NOTES AND NEWS	53
THE LATE DR. ARCHIBALD HENRY SAYCE. BY S. A. COOK	59
THE SAMARIA EXCAVATIONS—THE STADIUM. BY J. W. CROWFOOT	62
THE SAMARIA EXCAVATIONS—THE AUDITORIUM. BY KATHLEEN KENYON	74
THE IVORY INLAYS FROM SAMARIA. BY H. G. MAY	88
THE EXCAVATIONS AT JERASH. BY J. P. NAISS	90
WINGED MONSTERS. BY ALAN ROWE	97
THE INSCRIPTION OF ER-RAME. BY A. MARMORSTEIN	100
REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS	102
TABLE OF TRANSLITERATION	108

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
ARCHIBALD HENRY SAYCE, 1845—1933	<i>after</i> 58
THE SAMARIA EXCAVATIONS—THE STADIUM :	
PLATE I. EAST ENCLOSURE WALL OF THE STADIUM ..	72
PLATE II. STATUE OF THE GODDESS KORE ...	72
PLATE III. PLAN OF THE STADIUM	72
PLATE IV. ARCHITECTURAL DETAILS OF THE STADIUM	72
PLATE V. THE STADIUM—VIEW LOOKING NORTH ..	72
PLATE VI. THE STADIUM—VIEW LOOKING SOUTH ..	72
THE SAMARIA EXCAVATIONS—THE AUGUSTEUM :	
PLATE VII. PLAN OF THE AUGUSTEUM	86
PLATE VIII. N.E. CORNER OF FORECOURT	86
PLATE IX. i. WALLS OF PRE-HERODIAN HOUSE ..	86
ii. N.E. ANGLE OF FORECOURT FROM EAST	86
PLATE X. CORNER TOWER OF AUGUSTEUM ...	86
PLATE XI. i. BUILDING OF HERODIAN MASONRY ..	86
ii. SUBTERRANEAN CORRIDOR	86
PLATE XII. OUTER NORTHERN RETAINING WALL ..	86
PLATE XIII. i. IMBEDDED POT	86
ii. EASTERN SUBTERRANEAN CORRIDOR ..	86

THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

The new material from Ras Shamra continues to occupy the attention of scholars. In an interesting, if not wholly convincing, article on the relation between Adonis and Osiris, in the last number of the *Revue Biblique*, P. de Vaux throws doubt on Dussaud's identification of Alcin and Mot with Adonis. In *Syria*, xiii, 2, J. Cantineau challenges the designation of the language of the tablets as Phœnician, and prefers to regard it as a new Semitic language, hitherto unknown. In *Syria*, xii, 4, the translator of the tablets announces that he has found in an unpublished text, Adonis mentioned under the title of Adou, and twice under the epithet of Na'aman.

Among the discoveries at Ras Shamra there was one which has not received much notice. It is described by the discoverer as "a new type of monument, consisting of stone stairs of four or five steps, without a platform, surrounded by layers of pottery. The exact nature of these curious monuments is as yet unknown to us; they suggest, however, rustic altars, an explanation which is supported by the arrangement of the pottery around the monument." One is reminded of the prohibition in Ex. xx, 26, "Thou shalt not go up by steps unto mine altar."

In his survey of recent excavations in Palestine, P. Dhormie contrasts the lack of sensational discoveries "in its shapeless mounds

upon which a curse seems to rest," with the thrilling finds in Egyptian, Mesopotamian and Syrian sites. Nevertheless he is able to record striking discoveries in the site of the ancient Megiddo. "It is well-known that Tell el-Mutesellim is the modern designation of the lovely hill whose artificial summit forms the site of the ancient Megiddo, or Armageddon. Mr. Guy believes that he has discovered the stables which Solomon built at Megiddo for the royal cavalry. A fragment of a stele overlooked in the German excavations contained a no less important inscription than the cartouche of the Pharaoh Sheshonq I (c. 945-924 B.C.), the biblical Shishak. It constitutes an irrefragable testimony to the march of Shishak against Jerusalem mentioned in the 14th chapter of the first book of Kings."

Professor John Garstang continues his report of his excavations at Jericho in *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, that splendid production of the University of Liverpool. One of the most striking illustrations is that of the curious rhyton which immediately recalls the libation vase from Beth-Shemesh. "The 'barbiche' recalls the pictures of the Syrian envoys to the Pharaohs as depicted on Egyptian scenes of the early XVIIIth Dynasty. Recalling the resemblances of the miniature from Beth Shemesh, the Jericho rhyton would seem to have been modelled upon a facial type familiar in the country at the time, and we may well ask ourselves if it was not intended to represent a Hyksos leader."

Sir Flinders Petrie has announced his intention of retiring in June from the position of Edwards Professor of Egyptology at University College, London, which he has held for the past forty years. He intends to take up his permanent residence in Palestine, spending three months of the year in England.

P.E.F. PUBLICATIONS. It may be noted in the Fund's list, that many of our earlier publications, both books and maps, have become out of print. There is still a demand for many of them, and it is suggested that some members may be disposed to assist the Fund by presenting copies of such works for inclusion in

our second-hand list, in the event of their having ceased to be of personal utility.

By an arrangement with Sir Flinders Petrie, Members of the P.E.F. are enabled to purchase at half the published price the Reports of the British School of Egyptian Archaeology dealing with the Society's researches in Palestine. Reciprocally, the excavation Reports of the P.E.F. henceforth issued are available to Members of the School in Egypt similarly at half-price. P.E.F. Members desirous of taking advantage of this privilege should apply to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, W.1.

The list of books received will be found on p. 56.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

The Committee gratefully acknowledge the following special contributions. From :—

Miss E. M. Courthope	...	4	0	0
Miss C. D. Richards	...	1	1	0

The Annual Report and Accounts, with list of subscriptions for the year 1932, is issued with this number.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND INCOME TAX.—Subscribers may, if they wish, covenant to pay their subscriptions for seven years, thereby enabling the Fund to benefit by the recovery of Income Tax thereon. A form of covenant was issued with the July *Quarterly Statement*, 1932, and copies of this form may be had on application to the Assistant Secretary.

The Committee gratefully acknowledge receipt of the forms already completed.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following:

Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology (University of Liverpool),
xix, 3-4. Jericho, City and Necropolis (continued), with Plates
xxvi-xlv. By John Garstang.

The Antiquaries Journal, January.

The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, November, 1932. To what
extent did the ancient Egyptians employ bitumen for embalming?
P. E. Spielmann.

The Near East, December, 1932, January, 1933. British Policy in
Palestine, January.

The Scottish Geographical Magazine, January.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, December, 1932.

The Geographical Review, January.

The Homiletic Review, January-February.

The Jewish Quarterly Review. January. The Pronunciation of
Hebrew based chiefly on the Transliterations in the Hexapla. By
Prof. E. A. Speiser.

Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, December, 1932.
The Chalcolithic Age in Palestine. By W. F. Albright.

Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York), December,
1932, January, 1933.

Bulletin of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology
(Supplement).

The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Communication
No. 15.

Journal Asiatique, ccxx. Un coup d'œil sur les dernières fouilles en
Palestine. By M. E. Dhorme.

Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique, 1932, 1.

Revue Biblique, January. On certain connections between Adonis
and Osiris. By R. P. de Vaux.

Syria, xiii, 3. New Fragments of Vocabularies from Ras Shamra.
By F. Thureau-Dangin. The Oldest Subarean Civilization of
Mesopotamia. By Baron Max von Oppenheim.

Litteræ Orientales, lüi. Otto Harrassowitz: Leipzig.

Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, December, 1932, January, 1933.
Rev. of Böhl, The Age of Abraham, by K. Galling (Dec.). Rev. of
Fitzgerald, The four Canaanite Temples of Beth-Shan, by J. Hempel.
(Jan.).

Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, lv, 4. The Geology of the middle Jordan Valley, by Dr. L. Picard. A Jewish Grave-inscription from the hill of Ophel, Jerusalem, by Dr. M. Schwabe.

Zeitschrift für die älteste Wissenschaft, 4. The present state of the Excavations at Shechem and their Future, by E. Sellin.

Associazione Internazionale Studi Mediterranei, Bollettino, iii, 4.

Biblica, iv, 1932. The Prophecy of Isaiah against Moab, by E. Power: The immediate effect of the fall of Nineveh upon Palestine, by E. Florit. i, 1933. The Boundaries of Ephraim and Manasseh, by A. Fernandez. Rev. of Albright, The Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible, by A. Mallon.

Bible Lands, January. Palestinian Judaism and Jewish Orthodoxy.

British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, Supplementary Papers, 3 Churches at Jerash, by J. W. Crowfoot.

The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine, ii, 4 Mosaic Pavements in Palestine, etc., by M. Avi-Yonah. Vaulted Tomb at Ascalon, by J. H. Iliffe.

NEA SION.

Neo Judaea, December, 1932.

Revue de l'Académie Arabe, July-Oct., 1932.

Al-Mashrik, December, 1932, January, 1933.

Memorandum of the Wua'd Ha-Leumi, on the Method of Transliteration of Geographical and Personal Names.

"The Combat of Death and the Most High": A Proto-Hebrew Epic from Ras-Samra, by T. H. Gaster. From the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, October, 1932.

Government of Palestine, Dept. of Agriculture and Forests: Report on the Climate of Palestine, June-Nov., 1932.

Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum. Pars iv, t.iii, fasc. 11. (Himyaritic and Sabæan inscriptions). Nos. 867-985. Paris, 1931. (Contains addenda and corrigenda to the earlier volumes. Also Tabulae LIII-LIX).

Emmaus, sa Basilique et son Histoire. By PP. L.-H. Vincent and F. M. Abel. Paris, Leroux. 442pp., 114 illustrations in the text, 27 plates.

Ancient Egypt, September. Paintings at Ghassul, by Rev. J. G. Dunnean, &c.

Tell Asmar and Khalaje. By H. Frankfort, T. Jacobsen and C. Preussner. Univ. of Chicago. Oriental Inst. Communic. No. 13.

The Expository Times. December, 1932. Mohenjo-daro. The Indus Valley Civilization about 3000 B.C., by Prof. W. Fulton. February, 1933. Recent Biblical Archaeology, by the Rev. J. W. Jack.

The Jewish Background of Christianity. By Rev. N. Levison. T. and T. Clark.

A History of Israel. By Rev. Prof. W. O. E. Oesterley, M.A., D.D. (Camb.) and Rev. Prof. T. H. Robinson, M.A. (Camb.), D.D. (Lond.). Two Volumes. The Clarendon Press.

Samaritan Eschatology. By Moses Gaster, Ph.D. The Search Publishing Company.

Flora of Syria, Palestine and Sinai. By George Post, M.D., LL.D. Second Edition revised and enlarged by John Edward Dinsmore, M.A. American Press, Beirut, 1932. The Oxford Press.

Legends of Palestine. By Lev Vilnay, (see p. 103).

A Wander in the Promised Land. By Norman Bentwich. (See p. 102).

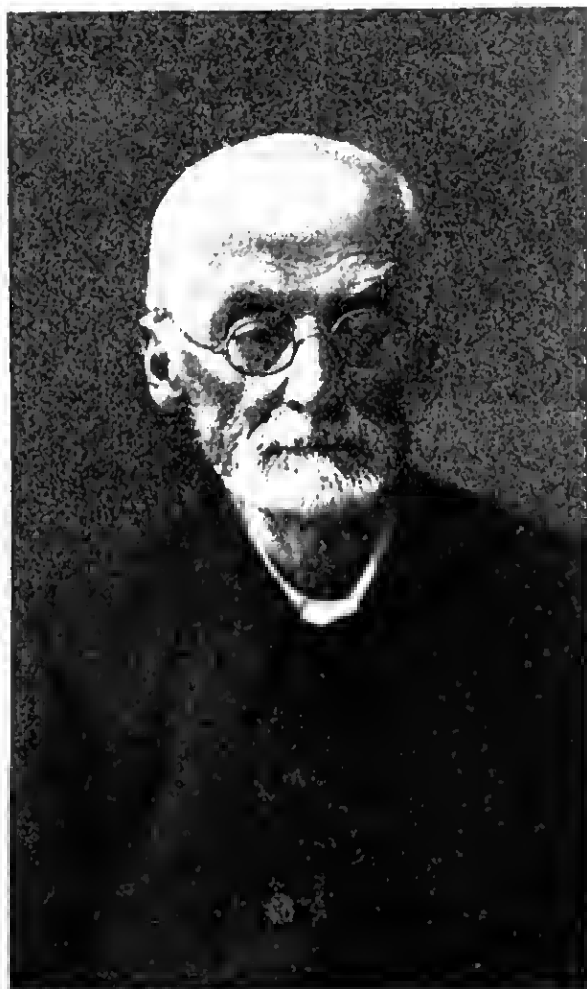
From Cedar to Hyssop. A Study in the Folk-lore of Plants in Palestine. By Grace M. Crowfoot and Louise Baldensperger. London: The Sheldon Press, 1932. 8vo, pp. viii., 196, with Frontispiece and 76 plates. 6s. net.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identification and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of——— to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.



ARCHIBALD HENRY SAYCE, 1845-1933.

THE LATE DR. ARCHIBALD HENRY SAYCE, 1845-1933.

With the death, on February 4th, at Bath, of the late Dr. Sayce, the Palestine Exploration Fund has to mourn the loss of the oldest member of its Executive Committee. He was elected to it in 1887, and although he was not a frequent attendant at its meetings his experience and knowledge and counsel were always at the disposal of the Fund.

Until his last years he was a frequent contributor to the pages of the *QUARTERLY STATEMENT*, particularly, of course, on matters of epigraphical and archaeological importance. His wide acquaintance with the work of excavation, ancient history and geography, and his philological studies, together with a keen insight into the ebb and flow of human life made him a writer of unusual breadth, whose books were always read with interest.

Sayce's "Reminiscences," published in 1923, is the record of one in whose life-time our knowledge of the ancient world was entirely transformed, and not least through his own labours. The honourable part he played in the discovery, publication and popularising of new facts of the past make him an outstanding figure in the history of research. Thus, Sir Wallis Budge, in his account of the *Rise and Progress of Assyriology* (1925), rightly places him "first and foremost among unofficial English Assyriologists," and observes that his early publications on Assyria "were most instructive and stimulating." At that time—that is, in the 'seventies, there was no other man in England who could have have written them. "No one who ever heard Sayce lecture to the students of the Archaic Classes can forget his lucid exposition and the clear and forceful language in which he clothed his learning." Sir Wallis draws a vivid picture of Sayce's energy in search of texts. "One year we find him standing up to his waist in water in the conduit between the upper and lower pools, copying the Siloam inscription, and the next he is seen scrambling up rocks in a waterless desert to copy *graffiti*." "The natives loved the

'mad priest,' as they called him, and he was known to many of them as 'father of the flat turban,' 'father of spectacles,' and 'lord of the split tail,' the allusions being to his clerical hat and coat."

Sayce's name will be especially remembered in connexion with his successful work at the Vannic inscriptions and his pioneering undertakings in the Hittite field. But a full account of his innumerable monographs, studies and special contributions would fill pages. Up to the end his fertile mind was engrossed upon linguistic and archaeological research, and the list of his publications in *Who's Who* gives a very inadequate conception of his assiduous literary work.

His more popular works opened the eyes of people to the importance of the study of the ancient Near East for the right understanding of the Bible; for he was able to stir popular imagination in a way that other scholars, more cautious perhaps, more carefully disciplined perhaps, could not succeed in doing. He had a vivid imagination which, if it enabled him to see whither discoveries were trending—as, e.g., in the importance of the Hittites as a people—also at times led him astray. Although he was by no means a "traditionalist" in his treatment of the Old Testament, his sympathies and labours were devoted to the "external" rather than to the "internal" criticism, and keen controversialist that he was, there is many a contest in the history of Old Testament studies in which he was a central figure.¹

Whether he was in the right or in the wrong, it were unprofitable to ask; it is sufficient that he will be remembered by his emphasis upon the supreme importance of the archaeological and monumental evidence for Biblical research. The controversial questions in which he was engaged have passed into an entirely new stage; and when one takes up again and reads the literature of those past years one is conscious of the gap between the questions as they appeared then, and as they are now.

¹ It may be mentioned apropos of the once famous controversy around the hematite weight from Samaria believed to be inscribed *sh-l* (Q.S. 1893-4) that the reading was subsequently questioned and found to be probably incorrect: see e.g., Driver, *Literature of the Old Testament*, 11th ed., p. 449 note.

But Sayce as a writer, or Sayce as a controversialist was not the Sayce of those who knew him. "His was one of the lovable personalities of the world," as the sympathetic writer of the notice in *The Times* (February 6th) observes, "his presence, ever genial and stamped with an old-fashioned courtliness, which endeared him to all, will for long be an Oxford tradition. It was one of the marks of the great character that he never lost a chance of praising a younger scholar, who might by his encouragement be stirred to great effort."

S. A. C.

[EDITOR'S NOTE.—We are indebted to the kindness of the Domestic Bursar of Queen's College, Oxford, for the portrait of the late A. H. Sayce.]

SAMARIA EXCAVATIONS: THE STADIUM.

By J. W. CROWFOOT.

NOTE.—I have discussed all the problems raised in the following paper with Dr. E. L. Sukenik, and we are in substantial agreement. The photographs are the work of Mr. Fadil Saba.

I. *Introductory.*

The Stadium, if such it is, lies in a broad hollow to the N.E. of the Forum, about 100 m. below the level of the summit. It is open to the N. but sheltered on the other three sides; on the south by the east end of the ridge on which Samaria is built; on the east and west by outlying spurs from this ridge, that on the east being a steep cliff. The field is now called *Karem el Sheikh*; parts of it have been recently planted with fruit trees, olives, figs, apricots and almonds; the rest is cultivated with barley, wheat or vegetables; there are the remains of an old lime kiln in the middle. Three lines of columns are visible, forming three sides of a rectangle, and their disposition in this area suggested to our predecessors that the site had been laid out in the early Roman period as a Hippodrome with a semi-circular end to the south and seats for the spectators on the surrounding slopes (Harvard Excavations, p. 219).

The field is a large one, measuring about 230 m. from north to south by some 80 m. broad, and the complete excavation of it was out of the question. We contented ourselves with work in a series of selected sections. The north colonnade was cleared, and a long strip towards the north end of the west colonnade: trenches were run in the north section of the central area from north to south, and also from east to west, and also north from the north colonnade to the city wall—all these, in 1931, under the supervision of Miss Kenyon (See *Q.S.*, 1932, pp. 24-27). In 1932 five soundings were made further south, two on the west side (S6, S.f.), one on the east side (S.d.), one at the south-west corner (S.e.), and one at the south-east corner (S.e.)—these under the supervision of Mr. Wright. All the excavations were filled in after they had been planned and levelled by Mr. Pinkerfield and Mr. Buchanan.

Our conclusions may be conveniently summarised before we describe in detail the results of these soundings.

Here as on the summit and in the Forum the natural formation of the surface has been profoundly modified by the hand of man. From the air the site looks like a deep terrace artificially made in the side of the hill about midway between the top of the ridge and the bottom of the valley which runs round the north side of Samaria, and this is what, in effect, it is. In the middle of our area the present ground level is recent; it has been raised by more than 8 m. since the Israelite period when, so far as we can see, there was a continuous fall to the bed of the valley from the main ridge and the two lateral spurs. The present appearance is, in the main, the result of a series of operations which were undertaken at the beginning of the Roman period. The city wall was then carried across the north end of the depression and served as a retaining wall to hold up the level of the ground behind. On this ground a large rectangular structure was planned, with colonnades in the Doric order, the cliffs at the south and south-east were scarped back a little to extend and regularize the area, and the central arena was levelled. A series of well-built cultivation *terrace* walls on the slope between the Forum and south end of this structure may have been constructed at the same time.

The work was planned on an ambitious scale, and it does not seem to have been completed, although parts of it were in use for a long time. At a later period the southern portico was severely damaged by a fall of rock, which may have been caused by an earthquake or by excessive floods, and the people of Sebaste re-built the whole structure in the Corinthian order. It is the remains of this second building which still rise above ground level.

A great many coins of the 4th century, found in the course of our excavations, show that the portico was frequented until the end of this century. After that it fell into disuse, and some memorial chapels with mosaic floors were built across the north colonnade in the 5th or 6th century. Later still it was used as a quarry except towards the south end, where the accumulation was heaviest. The well-dressed stones from the enclosure walls and stylobates were carried away for building purposes, most of the capitals were probably converted into lime, and little was left save the columns which

remain, standing or fallen as the case may be, because they are too heavy to move.

What was this great structure?

At both periods inscriptions prove that it was placed under the protection, if not exclusively connected with the cult, of the Goddess Kore, and this may be one of the reasons why it was deserted after the triumph of Christianity in the 4th century. But a building of this plan and these dimensions may have served several purposes of a public and festal character: the length of the arena which measures about 198 m. suggests that it was planned to contain a Stadium (600 ft.), but it may also have contained a palaestra, halls for lectures and a place for musical or other competitions. It does not appear probable that it was a Hippodrome; we found no trace of seats on the slopes of the hill; nor of *carceres* at the north end, nor of the great southern apse in which our predecessors thought it terminated.

It will be seen that we have learnt much more about the plan and history of the site than was previously known, and we do not contemplate returning to this field. Admittedly there are several problems still to be solved, but their solution would probably entail the expenditure of more time and money than the results are likely to justify.

II. The City Wall.

We cleared both sides of a small section of the city wall which lay some 26 m. north of the north colonnade. On the inside the walls were over 4 m. high but only the two upper courses were built to be seen: the upper of these was composed of alternate headers and stretchers, the second one of headers only: the stones had broad grafted margins on all four sides and heavily projecting bosses. Below these courses the wall was mainly composed of very rough un-coursed rubble work. On the outside three or four of the upper courses were constructed of bossed stones like those on the inside: the lower part of the wall was also coursed, courses of longish stones on end alternating with courses of narrow stones laid flatwise. This looks like a rough version of the foundational work on the summit which has been recognised to be of the Herodian period (*H.E.*, p. 178), and there seems no reason to doubt that this wall is part of the city wall which Josephus attributes to Herod; the dimensions given by Josephus correspond closely enough with the length of the Roman

circuit wall so far as it has been yet traced. An earthen ramp was probably thrown against the lower courses.

This wall served as a retaining wall to the long artificial platform on which our porticoes were built. The space between the wall and the porticoes was probably occupied in part by a road.

III. The Doric Portico.

The discovery of the Doric portico was a complete surprise. We had no inkling of its existence until near the end of the season when we made a sounding at the south-west corner of the field. At this point we found part of the colonnade and the enclosure wall still standing (Plate VI.). A few days later we came upon corresponding portions of the same colonnade at the south-east corner. It was evident at once from the levels and the style of the work that this building was part and parcel of the same structure as the plastered wall which had been discovered in the previous season under the later west colonnade. We have not obtained any certain evidence of the northern limit of this portico. At the north end where our operations started in 1931 we did not find any indications of a Doric portico although there were several small column drums which may have come from it. On three sides, however, we now know that the builders of the Corinthian portico followed the plan of the earlier work, and it seems probable that on the north side also the two lines corresponded: if the earlier building were much shorter than the later one it is difficult to understand why the rock was scarped back at the south end; it would have been simpler to set out the whole plan further north.

A level noted by Miss Kenyon, 26 cm. below the floor level of the later portico beneath the easternmost mosaic may belong to a north Doric colonnade: the filling below this is described as "almost barren rocky debris." On the other hand, it is strange that more of the old drums were not in evidence elsewhere, and it is possible that on the two long sides the colonnades were never finished.

The enclosure wall at the south end was built in regular courses, each about 50 cm. high, but the stones were neither well dressed nor closely fitted, they were set in greyish mortar, and smaller stones and potsherds were pushed into the interstices between them: rows of headers occur but generally the stones were laid alternatively as headers and stretchers. Though eight courses of this wall are still

standing only the upper courses were visible because the enclosure wall of the later colonnade was built immediately in front of them. At the S.E. corner a fragment of the return to the north some 70 cm. long has been preserved. Just above this a piece of rock which has fallen from above still rests on the top surviving course 4 m. above the floor level; other pieces of rock were found with fallen building stones in front of the wall and the two discoveries show how this part of the portico was destroyed. In spite of the rough dressing of the stone there was no trace of plaster on the south wall; it is difficult to believe that every trace should have been removed when the latter wall was built in front of it, and this fact is probably to be regarded as one of the indications that the south side was never finished. The enclosure wall along the west side, on the other hand, which was constructed in masonry of the same type has been heavily plastered, painted, and subsequently repaired.

The stylobate of the colonnade ran 4.2 m. north of the enclosure wall. It was built of carefully fitted stones; at the south-west they were laid on a rubble foundation, at the south-east they were sunk in a rock trench which still rises above the stylobate on three sides, a clear proof that this corner was never finished. The stones were dressed with a fine comb pick containing about ten teeth to the inch: in the south-west the comb marks had been worn away except on the vertical faces and under the fourth column which was missing, at the south-east corner they were visible on the horizontal face also as would be natural if this part were never used.

This stylobate carried a row of Doric columns. They were built upon drums 45 cm. in diameter, cut out of the local stone like the stylobate and the enclosure wall; at the two corners there were heart-shaped piers, they consisted, that is, of square pillars with half-pillars on two sides; two drums were in position at the south-west corner and five at the south-east. The bottom drums of two columns besides the corner pier were found at the west end, but the third was missing. One regular Doric capital was found and there were two others with different profiles; on the caps there were traces of plaster, but there was no sign that the arrises on the drums had ever been moulded. The distance between the columns is about 1.75 m. and there would be space along the south side for twenty-five columns

between the corner piers; the difference in level between the east end and the west is infinitesimal, only '17 in 58 m.

As we have already said, the only other remains of the earlier structure still in position were found on the west side. The enclosure wall with much of the painted plaster still adhering to it was uncovered here for a length of nearly 40 m. The plaster was painted in large panels of red and yellow alternately with a dado of yellow marbling below them; it was scored with crude figures and graffiti, and as it was heavily patched in various places, this portico must have been in use for a long time. In front of it the foundations of the early stylobate were seen under the foundations of the later one, but the dressed stones had been removed. The floor of the portico was on the rock and the enclosure wall was built in a rock trench .5 m. deep. Levels taken respectively at the S.W. corner (333.07 m.) and 120 m. north in front of the plastered wall (330.92 m.) show that the ground rose to the south at a gradient of about 1 in 55. Wherever we could judge from lines in the debris, the level in the arena seems to have been approximately the same as under the portico.

In default of a building inscription, there can be only circumstantial evidence as to the date of this structure; it cannot have been built before the city wall was laid out, but it may well have been one of the other works with which Herod embellished Sebaste. The heart-shaped corner piers of the colonnade may be compared with those found on the summit in the Atrium house which our predecessors assigned to the Herodian period (H.E., pp. 180-185), and the popularity of the Doric order at Sebaste in the early Roman period is proved by the number of Doric caps found by both expeditions under the later Roman debris (H.E., pp. 161-2). The fragments of pottery found in the filling between the stones of the enclosure wall were unribbed, and seemed mostly to belong to the 1st century B.C. Lastly, the names painted or scratched on the plastered wall. Pomponius Rufus, Glaphyrus, Martialis, Narcissus, Primus and Rufus (a second time), are such as might be expected during the 1st century A.D. after the settlement of Herod's veterans in Sebaste.

One of these, Martialis, the "learned master," prays to be remembered by the Kore; another, Pomponius Rufus, is described as a Hieroktistes, the founder of a shrine or of rites, so there can

he no doubt that the Goddess Kore was already honoured in this precinct when the Doric portico was in existence.

IV. The Corinthian Portico.

It was not before the second century, perhaps even later, that the Doric building was replaced by a new portico in the Corinthian order. Very few changes in the ground plan can be traced; the new enclosure wall of the southern colonnade was aligned about 80 cm. north of the old wall, and the new stylobate on this side about 1.2 m. north of the old stylobate; on the east and west sides the old lines were followed. The elevation, however, was complete changed; monolithic column, like those in the main street, the Forum and the Basilica, were employed, and the distance from centre to centre of the columns was increased from 2.2 to 3 m., and the possible number of columns on the short sides reduced to twenty; the shafts of the columns average about 4 m. high, and the whole order must have been nearly 7 m. high. The stone for the columns, and the new enclosure walls, was brought from some quarries near Nablus, where the limestone is much harder than any to be found on the hill of Samaria. Outside the enclosure wall and in the central arena elaborate gutters were constructed to carry off the water which poured down from the surrounding hills.

The ground level of the portico at the north end was 333 m.; about 70 m. to the south, where probably the ground had always sagged, the level in one place was 332.75 m., and to even up the colonnade some blocks were clumsily interposed between the stylobate and the bases of the columns; near the south end the level rose to just over 335 m. The rise from north to south was, therefore, about 1 in 100.

The accumulation of debris is now much heavier at the south end than anywhere else; at the north end the floor of the colonnade was about 1 m. below the present surface, at the south-east against the enclosure wall our trench was more than 9 m. deep; naturally much more has been preserved there. In the short section at the south-west corner, where the best remains of the Doric colonnade were found, the Corinthian colonnade also is better preserved than elsewhere, but this obtains only along the west side. On this side

the third column from the end is still erect, the second has fallen, but is still touching its base, the best Corinthian capital, indeed the only good one we found, lay against the same base, and the stones on the stylobate between the second and third columns have not been filched. (See Plate v.) The foundation on which the stylobate rests is almost entirely composed of drums and other architectural fragments from the Doric portico. Of the corner column, on the other hand, there was no trace, nor was there any trace of columns along the south side, where we expected to find them, although the foundation wall for the Corinthian stylobate is still in existence here, and three courses of the new southern enclosure wall, with part of the fourth, are also standing. The Doric colonnade had evidently been broken down to the height of the new floor level, there were hitching holes in the topmost of the surviving Doric drums which were made doubtless while the back enclosure wall and the new stylobate foundations were being constructed, and a line in the debris which is visible in our photograph proved that the ground had been subsequently raised to the new level, the filling being largely composed of old roof-tiles, but at this point work seems to have been suspended: for some reason or other the southern Corinthian colonnade was never finished.

This conclusion was reinforced by what we found at the south-east corner, where much more of the enclosure walls, both south and east, has survived. Originally the rock rose higher here than at the south-west corner, the Doric stylobate and the enclosure walls were built in excavated trenches, but, as we have seen, the rock between was never levelled down; similarly, in the later period a line in the debris showed that preparations had been made for completing the Corinthian stylobate along the east side, and there was one block in the line which should have been occupied by the southern stylobate, but at this juncture work evidently ceased, and the corner pier of the Doric portico was not reduced in height like that at the south-west corner, it still stands nearly 2 m. high. And there is an awkward straight joint in the enclosure wall at this corner which is probably to be explained by an error or change of plan; at the south end of the east wall fifteen courses were found in position, nine courses with two offsets in them alternately composed entirely of headers or stretchers, a low tenth course above a third offset, and

then five courses in which headers and stretchers alternate as generally elsewhere in the south and east walls; in the upper half of this wall there are stones projecting at the corner to make bond with the south wall, but in the lower half there was a hiatus 10 cm. wide between the two walls which was clumsily patched with small stones. The use of two different bonds in the same wall does not appear in this case to indicate any difference in period, as all the stones are dressed alike; the lower part of this wall is not unlike the foundation of the still later temple in Karam el Tuti (*Q.S.*, 1932, p. 23).

Another good section of the enclosure wall was exposed on the east in a trench about 130 m. from the north end. (See Plate I.) Here seven courses are still standing; the wall was carried down to the rock, which may have been prepared for the earlier wall, the trench being like that under the Doric wall on the west side, and there were pilasters opposite each column of the portico. The bottom course above ground level was built mainly of headers, the six courses above it of alternate headers and stretchers, dressed with a comb pick containing five or six teeth to the inch; the course below ground level was composed of large stones with a broad marginal draft, probably re-used. The stylobate and the plinth on which the columns rested in this section were much more carefully made than those on the opposite side, but here, too, as in the north and west porticos, the stones from the stylobate in the inter-columniations have disappeared.

On the west side we found very little of the enclosure wall in position, and we saw no trace of pilasters. On the north side still less has survived.

At the north-east corner a small construction, 8.4 m. by 4 m., which abutted on the east wall, probably represents the foundation of the entrance, but it was close to the later memorial chapels, and all trace of the superstructure has been destroyed. It consisted of two parts, a square room on the north and a solid platform of masonry on the south.

Our early trenches at the north end of the central arena did not yield any evidence for a spina; we struck some disconnected fragments of paving and a long drainage gutter, but no remains of any recognisable building.

Three discoveries made in the upper stratum prove that the cult of Kore persisted during the period when the Corinthian portico was in use. The most striking of these was a statue which was found in fragments, most of them thrown into a cistern in the west colonnade, and some just outside it. The statue is under life-size; the goddess is wearing a veil, she holds a torch in her right hand, in her left a pomegranate and ears of wheat; there are traces of paint on the torch and on the upper part of the head. It is an agreeable work of the Roman period, and cannot be much later than the year 200 A.D. A Sebastene coin of the reign of Commodus shows a figure with the same attributes (B.M. Cat., Palestine, p. 79). Fragments of two other statues were found in the same cistern, a headless draped goddess and the torso of a youthful nude god, both rather earlier in style than the Kore. With these we found also a small fragment of marble with an inscription painted on it in late red letters; the inscription runs, *God is one the Lord of all, great is Kore the unconquered*, the confession evidently of a monotheist who was still faithful in practice to the old cult. The style of the lettering suggests a date in the 4th century when, as we know from stories preserved by Jerome and others about the desecration of St. John the Baptist's tomb, paganism was still strong in Sebaste. The third reference to Kore occurs on an altar erected to the goddess by a high priest named Calpurnianus Caius; the poor lettering and spelling of the inscription on the altar point to a date in the 3rd century A.D. This altar was found in the central arena, near the north end, but neither there nor elsewhere did we come upon any trace of a temple or chapel to the goddess.

To date the construction of the Corinthian portico we have again nothing but circumstantial evidence to rely upon. Our predecessors attributed this building, together with the columned street, and the earlier parts of the Basilica and the Forum, to the Herodian or early Roman period, relying mainly on the similarity of these buildings and on a fragmentary inscription which reads: **CTPA]THFOYN-TWNANNIOYPO[YΦOY** (H.E., p. 46, plate 59c). This Annus Rufus they identify with the procurator of that name, whose date is about 17 A.D., but this is impossible; the absence of a prænomen and the plural participle which precedes the name show that the inscription refers not to a Roman of procurator's rank, but to some

native local magistrate; Mr. A. H. M. Jones, with whom I have discussed the fragment on the spot, dates the lettering about 200 A.D. It seems to us that all these buildings have been dated too early by the Harvard expedition: our Corinthian portico, at any rate, in view of the prolonged use of the Doric portico, could not possibly be earlier than the Antonine period and is almost certainly some decades later. The filling between the two enclosure walls at the south end, which dates from the construction of the later wall, contained a coin of Domitian and several ribbed potsherds of a type we assign to the 2nd century; it is to the late 2nd-3rd century that we are disposed to attribute the capitals; some lamps said to have been found just below the floor level in the west colonnade belong, we think, to the 1st or 2nd centuries. Small repairs were carried out much later, for a fragment of rouletted ware, dated about 300 A.D., was found under the plaster of a gutter in front of the west colonnade, near the cistern.

These dates are further illustrated by the numismatic evidence. Single coins, like the coin of Domitian, just mentioned, may or may not be significant, but there can be less question of the interpretation of a large group, and the following statistics which have been furnished by Mr. Wright speak for themselves. The total number of coins found during the two seasons in this area is 145; of these, 125 have been identified at present, 7 belonging to the Hellenistic period, 7 to the Early Roman period, 110 to the period between Vespasian and Anastasius, and 1 to the reign of Justinian. Of the 110 Later Roman coins, 2 belong to the Flavian period, 10 to the 2nd century, 22 to the 3rd century, 75 to the 4th century and 1 to the 5th. The cistern on the west side where the fragments of the Kore were found produced one coin of the procurator, one of Marcus Aurelius, one of Claudius the Second, 55 coins of the 4th century, and one of the 5th. From these figures alone it might be safely concluded that the portico was deserted towards the end of the 4th century after the triumph of Christianity, and that it was most frequented in the two or three centuries preceding this date.

V. The Late Mosaics.

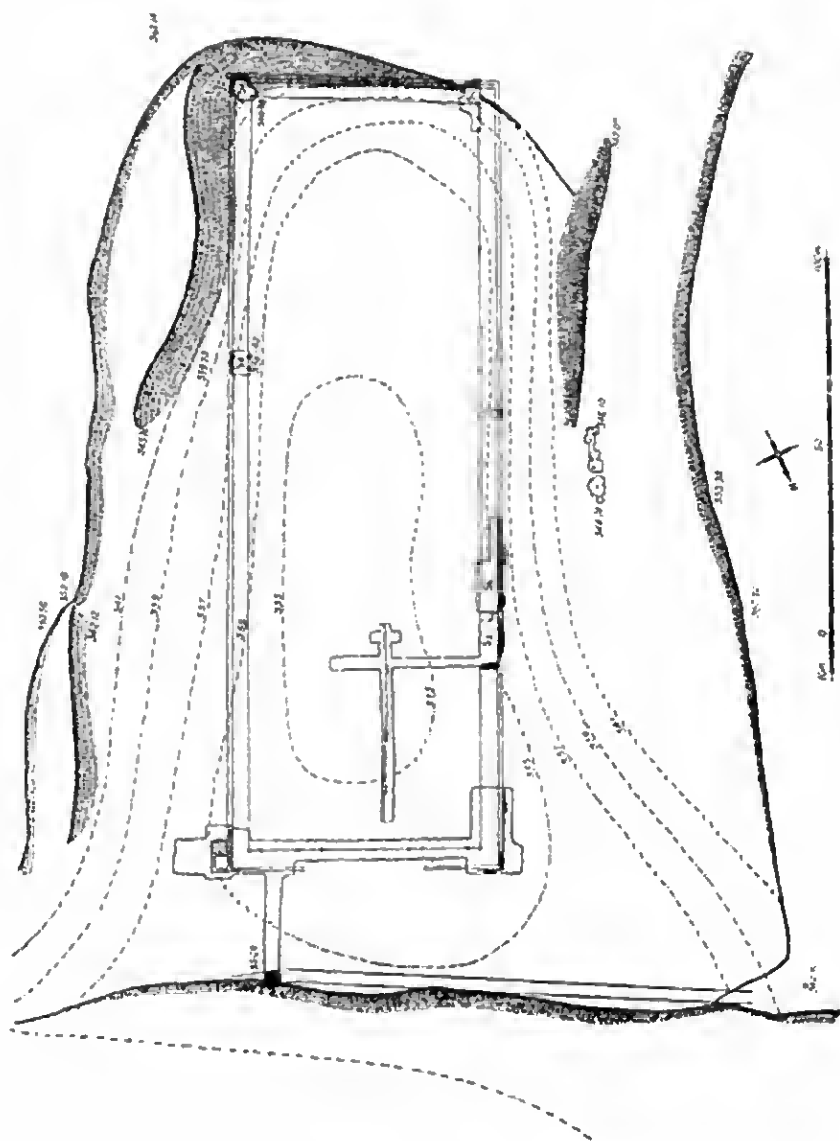
At the west end of the colonnade at the north side two late patterned mosaic floors were found in rooms which communicated with each other; both were considerably damaged.



EAST ENCLOSURE WALL OF THE STADIUM.



STATUE OF GODDESS KORE.





THE STADIUM.

VIEW OF S.E. LOOKING NORTH. IN THE FOREGROUND THE DORIC STYLOBATE, BEHIND IT THE BROKEN FOUNDATION OF THE CORINTHIAN STYLOBATE, AND IN THE CENTRE THE REMAINS OF THE WEST CORINTHIAN COLONNADE.



THE STADIUM.

VIEW OF S.C. LOOKING SOUTH, SHOWING THE ENCLOSURE WALLS AT THE SOUTH
END, THE DORIC WALL BEHIND THE CORINTHIAN.

The central field of the larger floor which lay to the west is a square filled with a complicated geometrical pattern composed of a smaller square and lozenges arranged according to a common late type; round this ran two borders, a plain twist and a zig-zag; below, much broken, was a *tabula ansata* with an inscription which began with the name Eutropiou. This mosaic has been removed to Harvard.

The second mosaic is rather more interesting. In a central circle there is a large four-petalled rose with the letters EY and TYXI inscribed on alternate petals; round the rose ran a circular inscription, from which about one-third of the letters have disappeared, those which remain reading ΥΑΠΙΑΝΗCΥΥΧΗCΩZE; round the inscription ran two circular borders, a zig-zag and a plain twist, the twist being interlaced with a second twist, which, with a second zig-zag, forms a square frame to the whole, like the borders round the first mosaic. Amphoræ and peltæ seem to have been placed alternately in the corners between the square frame and the central circular design. This is now at Jerusalem.

The two mosaics have identical borders, and it is obvious that they are very closely related; they may belong to the 5th or 6th centuries. The inscription of Ulpiana is clearly funerary, but no trace of any burial was found.

EXCAVATIONS AT SAMARIA.

THE FORECOURT OF THE AUGUSTEUM.

BY KATHLEEN KENYON, M.A.

The excavations of the Harvard University Expedition of 1908-11 uncovered at the top of the hill of Samaria the massive remains of a temple which was identified as the Augusteum constructed by Herod the Great, as a part of his magnificently conceived rebuilding of the town. The temple itself and a portion of its forecourt were cleared by the earlier expedition, but they were not able to complete the whole complex. In particular, they were not able to trace the limits of the forecourt to the north, nor to follow its eastern boundary. In the past two seasons the present Joint Expedition has been able to settle these points, as well as to modify some of the conclusions of our predecessors, and the plan of the whole is now complete.

The history of the development of the site of Samaria largely consists in the gradual extension of the flat area on the top of the hill. The natural limestone reaches its highest point in the region of the Israelite buildings called Ahab's palace by the first expedition, which underlie the later Augusteum. From there it drops sharply to the west, nearly equally so to the north and south, and considerably more gradually to the east. The Israelite buildings apparently accommodated themselves more or less to the contours of the rock, the rooms being filled with earth to a sufficient height to provide a level floor within each room, but adjacent rooms being often of considerably varying floor-levels. The outer casemated wall of the palace enclosure stood at the edge of the natural hill top, but only served as a retaining wall to level the rather steeply sloping area immediately inside it, not to make a flat platform of the whole area. At a later period the place of this wall was taken by a much more substantial wall (Pl. VII, 35) called by the earlier excavators the Greek Fort Wall. This was apparently of varying periods in different stretches. Dr. Reisner dated one portion of

it to the Babylonio-Greek period, while a stretch uncovered last year was from the stratification definitely no earlier than 200 B.C. There had however been another wall intermediate in time between this one and the Israelite one. This massive wall served both as the defensive wall of the inner town and as a retaining wall to hold up the great mass of debris which centuries of occupation and periods of destruction had accumulated, and thus greatly to enlarge the level area of the hill top by building up an artificial platform.

This Greek Fort Wall in many parts formed the boundary wall of the upper terrace both in Roman times and to-day. It did not, however, provide a large enough flat area for the Augusteum, and at the north-west corner of the summit it was the Herodian buildings which created the existing contours of the hill. The axis of the temple runs north and south, and in order to obtain a flat area for a forecourt on the scale of the temple, Herod was obliged to build a great artificial platform out from the north side of the hill, projecting for a distance of approximately 30m. beyond the Greek Fort Wall (Pl. VII). This platform was held up by a series of massive retaining walls, which also in part formed the foundations of the structures bounding the court above ground. Dr. Reisner found that the western boundary was formed by a subterranean corridor over which Dr. Fisher reconstructed a colonnade on the analogy of Jerash and Baalbek. The corresponding corridor on the east was uncovered during the 1931 spring season.¹ with sufficient of the masonry standing to suggest that it can never have supported a heavy colonnade above it, while the excavations of 1932 showed that the corridor was not apparently a part of the original plan. It was also found that though the western corridor was slightly splayed out from the centre line of the court, the eastern one was on exactly the same axis as the temple.

The chief excavations in this area were directed in the 1932 season to the clearance of the exterior of the north-east corner of the temple forecourt, with the object of examining the retaining walls of the platform. The area inside this corner was not excavated since it was covered by the huge dump of the earlier expedition, but the area below the retaining walls was thoroughly examined. There was no occupation here till the late pre-Herodian period. At

¹*Quarterly Statement*, January, 1932.

the north end the rock has been cut into a ditch some seven metres deep, with a sloping side to the south and a perpendicular one to the north. This cannot, however, have been a regular defensive ditch, since it was not found in a sounding some four metres to the east. It is possible that it was a quarry, though it bears none of the usual signs of partially cut stones and so on. It was filled with debris of the Israelite period, which included a fragment of carved ivory¹. South of this cutting the rock slopes up regularly to the south (Pl. VII, Section), with the exception of a scarp 1.50m. high, of uncertain date, at 511m. N. Three cisterns were cut in the rock, one contemporary with the pre-Herodian house, and two covered by its floors. Of these, that in room iv was unfinished, while the top of that in room i was cut off when the rock was levelled for the floor of the room.

The pre-Herodian buildings found consisted of four rooms of varying sizes and a number of other walls which were broken into by the Herodian buildings (Pl. VII and Pl. VIII rooms i to iv). One of the cross walls was built against the scarp mentioned above, with walls connecting with it on both levels; the house was therefore built in terraces. A door led through the wall from the upper room, but all traces of the staircase had vanished. The upper room was on a different alignment from the lower ones. The walls of the rooms were destroyed to the height required for the Herodian building operations, so that on the upper terrace they were in parts standing to about 1.60m. above the floor. The walls were .70m. thick, and consisted of a number of re-used stones, mostly employed as headers on edge, with the rest of walls made up of small stones accurately coursed to fit in with the dressed ones. Dressed stones were employed at the doorways, and also at the small recesses or niches in the walls, exactly similar to those found in present-day Arab houses. The floors of the rooms were of beaten earth, while to the east of the Roman tower, and between the two retaining walls, were found pavements of irregular shaped stones which belong to the same period. In room iv. a plaster bath was found.

These buildings were destroyed to make place for Herod's great temple, and were destroyed only in the places and to the height required by the structures of that complex. This gives us

¹*Quarterly Statement*, January, 1933.

a terminal date for them, and the date of construction can be estimated fairly definitely. The objects found beneath the floors of these particular rooms do not in themselves give an exact date. The only coins found sealed by the floors were three Ptolemaic ones which cannot be closely dated. A very large quantity of pottery was found of a fairly late Hellenistic character. The greatest amount was of the common late Hellenistic purplish red ribbed cooking pots, which had a long period of use. A considerable number of handles and fragments of Rhodian jars were found, which may come down to about 150 B.C., and a little black glazed ware of inferior and late quality. Almost the whole of a black Megarian bowl came to light in the cistern in room iv. The better kind of pottery found consisted of a number of fragments of ware with a chocolate red glaze and creamy paste. Most of the fragments were of large flattish plates with short up-turned rims and flat footstands, similar to those found above the floors. This ware can be identified as the true Samian ware (as distinct from the so-called Samian manufactured in Gaul). Exactly similar plates have been found in Samos itself and in other Greek islands. It is certainly of the first century B.C., but has not up till now been more closely dated. As will be seen, it is clear that at Samaria it dates from at least c. 60 B.C. This date and that of the buildings is given by the evidence found by the earlier expedition in the excavation of the similar houses destroyed by the construction of the temple building itself. A number of coins of the 1st century B.C. were found beneath the floors, of which the latest was a coin of Dora 64-63 B.C.¹ It is therefore clear that these buildings formed part of the restoration of the town by Gabinius in 57-55 B.C. after the destruction by Hyrcanus in 107 B.C.

The essential part in the formation of the forecourt of the Augusteum was clearly the provision of massive retaining walls to form a shell for the great platform built out beyond the Greek Fort Wall. South of this wall the ground was already consolidated, so that no such strong foundations to the boundaries of the court were required. In the portions excavated there were two walls, of which the foundations alone survived, uniformly going down to the rock (with the exception of one deep hole), of exactly similar

¹ *Harvard Excavations*, Vol. I, p. 52.

build, and separated by a distance of 3m. The outer one was 3m. thick along the north side (Pl. VII, 2) and 2·20m. along the east (4), while the inner one (1) was 1·30m. on both sides. They were built in the style identified by Dr. Reisner as typical of Herodian foundations, largely consisting of headers on edge with occasional courses at irregular intervals of flat stretchers. The average size of the stones was 60 by 40 by 24 cms. No attention at all was paid to breaking joint; as the walls were completely incased in earth, there was little chance of their shifting. Mud mortar was used in the horizontal joints but none in the vertical ones. Built into the outer face of the outer northern wall (2) were five unusual hexagonal stones with dowel holes in the centre, which probably belonged to a pilaster of some earlier building (Pl. XII). The footings of the inner north wall (1) were carried across as a sleeper wall to bond into the outer side wall (4). The point of junction of the outer east (4) and north (2) walls was thoroughly robbed, but Pl. VIII shows wall (4) running towards the camera in the background with wall (2) running across the picture, and behind it the inner north wall (1).

The foundations of the northern face of the outer wall were covered by a ramp of earth, of which the surface was apparently artificially consolidated, and was found to be very hard on excavation. This ramp meant the importation of a large amount of soil from elsewhere, as did also the creation of the great platform above. It is thus obvious that Herod's building operations involved denudation in some parts of the site as well as accumulation in others. The mass of debris which composed the ramp contained a very great quantity of pottery (2) mainly of the second century B.C. and earlier. It seems possible that it comes from some place where the debris of the destruction by Hyrcanus was available; included in it were an extraordinary number of Rhodian jar handles and fragments. There were also a number of almost complete plates of chocolate red glaze and cream ware, exactly similar to those found beneath the floors of the pre-Herodian houses (see above). The latest coin found was one of Antioch, probably 89-88 B.C. The ramp sloped gradually down to a wall (12) 9m. north of the outer retaining wall (2), and then dropped 2·20m. and continued as a nearly flat platform. Wall (12) is of an entirely different build

from (1) and (2), and is composed of completely irregular stones with small ones used to level up the courses (Pl. VIII, 12). It is only about .80m. thick and is very similar to the foundation walls of the Forum exposed in the autumn season of 1931¹. It is founded partly on a pre-Herodian house wall. It is hard to believe that this is of the same period as the regularly built 1 and 2; but it is quite certain that if it is not, it must take the place of an earlier one on a similar line. Between wall 2 and wall 12, the walls of the pre-Herodian room on the upper terrace are standing to a height of 1.60m., sloping down gradually towards wall 12. Also the walls of the lower rooms connecting with the cross wall against the scarp are left standing to a considerable height, until they reach wall 12, where they are broken down to height of .40m. above their floors (Pl. IX, i). Debris containing late Byzantine pottery was found down to a height of .50m. above these floors, so here only a comparatively thin layer was put down in the Herodian period. It is possible that the platform structure was not completed under Herod, and that this portion represents the last stages with other builders. The stratification however makes it impossible to tell whether it is a rebuilding or not, since there is mass of rubble against the back of the wall which obscures any possible lines of fall in the debris or a construction trench.

The north-east corner of the outer retaining wall was masked by a massive tower (Pl. VII, 3). It was built up against both the side and end walls, overlapping the latter for a distance of 3m.; nowhere was it bonded into them, and it was built slightly askew to them. The face was composed of dressed stones, with a core of rubble. Beneath the faced stones were three courses of footings, which on the north side were slightly offset and on a different angle from the face. There was a considerable amount of irregularity in the construction even of the face (Pl. x). The majority of the stones have comb-picked margins, and some have their centres chisel-picked and flat. A considerable number however have the protruding bosses left to a greater or lesser degree. Both types of stone occur in Herodian buildings according to Dr. Reisner, the former in the superstructure of the temple and other houses, and

¹*Quarterly Statement*, April, 1932.

the latter in the face of the towers of the West Gate, but he did not find them used indiscriminately like this. The bond also does not exactly correspond to the Herodian superstructure bond as described by Dr. Reisner. Though the majority of the courses are made up of leaders in one course and stretchers in the next, there are a quite considerable number of exceptions, as can be seen in the illustrations. The jointing is bad and irregular, and the courses are not exactly level. Everything in the style seems to suggest that it is a later addition, or at any rate only completed in a subsequent period. This is supported by the fact that to the east of the tower there is a paved floor belonging to the pre-Herodian houses. This is covered by some 50m. of earth which almost certainly was only put there during the Herodian levelling operations, but which shows a construction trench for the tower.

In the 1931 season we found the remains of the eastern subterranean corridor bounding the temple forecourt, which corresponded to the western one uncovered by the earlier expedition. When, therefore, these massive retaining walls first came to light at the north-east corner of the platform, it was naturally supposed that they were intended for the foundations of the corridor. This, however, proved not to be the case. The outer one it is true did support the outer corridor wall, but the inner one was at a distance of 3m. from it, a distance intermediate between that required for the inner corridor wall (5·80m.) and that for the wall supporting the centre colonnade (2·60m.). The foundations of the inner and central walls of the corridor were both found at the corner (Pl. VII, 01 and 02), built in a style completely different from and much inferior to that of the retaining walls. Also, the inner retaining wall (1) had been broken down to its existing height before the corridor walls were built. They were both built in debris which rested on its broken top, the inner wall being separated from it by 90m. of debris and the centre by 1·20m. (Pl. IX, ii). It is inconceivable that the retaining walls should have been built at these distances if the corridors had formed part of the original scheme, and that the corridor foundations should have been completed in an entirely different style. This leads one to the conclusion that the original Herodian forecourt consisted merely of a platform supported by these retaining walls, with perhaps a plain boundary wall above

ground. This last can only be conjecture, since we have only foundations remaining. The fact that the corridor was not part of the original plan is also confirmed by a building uncovered adjoining the section of the eastern corridor in 450 N., 600 E. excavated in 1931 (Pl. VII, 03). This consisted of an underground building with steps leading down to it, of good Herodian masonry, and clearly broken across by the corridor, which has an unfaced, rubble back (Pl. XI, i.). It is unfortunately not possible to say at what period the corridors were added to the temple, whether after the first revolt of the Jews or after an earlier period of destruction and reconstruction. It is even possible that the platform was left unfinished by Herod, for he built in a great hurry, and in other places at Samaria, for instance the Hippodrome, there are suggestions that some of his work was left incomplete. The pottery of the late Hellenistic and early Roman period has been so much neglected in Palestine that it has still to be dated from the buildings rather than vice versa.

Dr. Reisner found that there were two periods in the western corridor, and this was confirmed in the eastern one. The original corridor was 5.40m. wide, with a central colonnade, and it was laid out with a slight kink just north of the Greek Fort Wall. Of the central colonnade only the blocks on which the bases of the piers or columns rested were found in either corridor; these were based on a rough wall (02, found also at the north-east corner), and were very irregularly built, with a distance of approximately 2.70m. between the centre. Dr. Fisher reconstructed the corridor as a double barrel vault resting on a central colonnade. However, in the eastern corridor, unlike the western one, springers of the first period were found in position (Pl. XI, ii). These show that between the springers, which correspond in distance to the central bases, the wall continued up vertically, and that there must therefore have been a flat roof supported on a series of arches. The slenderness of these arches makes it most improbable that they supported a stone roof, still less a heavy colonnade above ground, as suggested by Dr. Fisher (but of which no trace was found). Possibly there was a wooden roof. The floor of the corridor was plastered. The side walls of the corridor rested partly on rock, and partly on Israelite walls which formed part of the casemated

palace enclosure wall. The fact that under the corridor these walls were standing to the first course of their superstructure, while further east they were completely removed down to the rock (7) with black robber trenches showing clearly, suggests that this extensive robbing may have been the work of Herod. This may be supported by the statement of Josephus: "Herod took up the old foundations and laid others."¹ Beyond the Greek Fort Wall the outer wall of the corridor rested on the outer retaining wall (4), but the foundations of the inner one could not be cleared owing to the Harvard Expedition dump which overlay them.

At the southern end the western corridor connected with a vault which lay in the angle between the front wall of the temple portico and the side wall of the steps leading up to the temple. Dr. Fisher was of the opinion that no corridor would be found on the east side owing to the higher level of the rock, and that no such vault existed on the east side of the steps, but the published plans show that they can hardly have touched its site. The discovery of the eastern corridor makes it almost certain that a similar vault must have existed on that side also. Dr. Fisher's conclusion was probably due to the fact he did not know that the southern end of the eastern corridor was cut into the rock. The point of junction of the corridor and such a vault was touched in 1931, and remains strongly suggestive of a vault seen, but it was not possible to clear it further owing to the unsafe nature of the debris, with the great mass of the Harvard Expedition dump on top of it. Another feature which may probably be inferred in the eastern corridor on the analogy of the western one is a staircase leading up to the ground level. In the western corridor, entrances were found near the southern end and into the end vault, but the destruction of the superstructure prevented their identification on the eastern side.

The second period of the corridor Dr. Reisner dated with the reconstruction of the temple to the time when Septimius Severus gave Samaria (and many other towns in Syria) the status of a Colonia. There was no archaeological evidence for this dating, which was conjectural, and it is possible that the second period should be put earlier, though any evidence found has been disappointingly inconclusive. In the reconstruction of the corridor,

¹*Antiquities*, xv, xi, 3.

a fresh facing of stones was laid against both walls, with foundations cutting through the original floor, thus narrowing the corridor by nearly a metre. The facing was not everywhere of the same thickness, but was so arranged as to straighten the kink of the first corridor. The foundations of this facing south of the Greek Fort Wall (35) were very shallow, resting on rock where it was near the surface, elsewhere on debris. North of this point they were built to a depth of about 1.30m. below the floor level in a trench only a few centimetres wider than the facing, being little more than rubble thrown in with great masses of distinctive grey ash mortar. The floor of the corridor was raised with a layer of plaster thick enough to cover the bases of the central colonnade, which feature was abandoned. A line of springers of the second period was in position in the eastern corridor, which shows that it was roofed by a single barrel vault (Pl. XI, ii). The face of the first period wall was notched to take the backs of the springers of the second period (Pl. XI, ii).

The history of the northern boundary does not seem to have been quite the same as the eastern one. There seems to have been a corridor along it similar to the first period one on the east, since two courses of the face of the inner wall are in position (Pl. IX, ii, 01). The ground is denuded away beneath the level of the bottom of the foundations of the wall supporting the central colonnade, but presumably that also existed. The foundations of the second period facing were also found along the inner face, but considerably broader than on the east side. At some period, however, the northern corridor seems to have been abolished. Above the light-coloured packed filling of the Herodian ramp, north of wall 2, there was a grey packing, separated from the earlier one by a layer of rubble. This grey packing crossed the broken top of wall 2, and in it, and quite inseparable from it, was an extremely rough rubble wall filling the gap in the upper courses of wall 2 (Pl. XII, 1a). Wall 2 thus became completely subterranean at this period, and wall 1 (the inner retaining wall) was continued across to meet wall 4 (the outer side wall), thus forming an end wall to the forecourt area (Pl. VIII, I.E). Underlying this eastward extension (I.E) of wall 1, the earlier light coloured filling was quite clear, overlain by the grey filling of the later ramp, on which I.E rested. There can therefore be no possibility that this later grey filling

and rubble might represent cultivation levelling of the Arab period, since the rest of the corridor walls were still in use when it was laid down. The pottery of the grey filliag is definitely not very late, and does not differ very much from the lower filling. This suggests that it may possibly be contemporary with the reconstructed eastern corridor, and that the broader second period facing along the northern boundary which filled the gap between the inner retaining and corridor walls may merely be a thickening of what then became the outer wall of the area. This cannot however be proved, and the destruction of the outer retaining wall and the lengthening of the inner one may represent a separate later period. The very deep robbing of the junction of the outer northern and eastern walls (2 and 4) was not covered by the grey filling, and contained late Byzantine pottery; it therefore represents a separate robbing.

On the analogy of other similar temple platforms, it had been expected that there would be a monumental entrance to the temple at the northern end of the forecourt. Both at Jerash and at Baalbek there are propylaea with great flights of steps leading up from the lower ground. Of this no trace at all could be found at Samaria. The inner wall of the corridor was traced all along the northern boundary, and also the foundations of the outer retaining wall, though much of that had vanished over the edge of the terraco. It was quite clear that there could never have been an entrance on this side, and moreover from a structural point of view the slope between the Augusteum forecourt and the temple on the next terrace below (T) was too steep for stairs. The entrance must have been at some point on the eastern side (the western side was also too steep), though so far no trace has been found of it. A small area at the south east angle of the courtyard has not yet been excavated, and it is possible that it lay there. It is also possible that the entrance was above some point of the eastern corridor. The level outside the corridor here was only about 1.50m. below that of the forecourt, so only a very few steps would have been required. The whole of the roof of the corridor and anything above that has vanished, which would explain the lack of all trace of an entrance.

In the late Roman period the eastern corridor was converted to some industrial use. In approximately the middle of the corridor

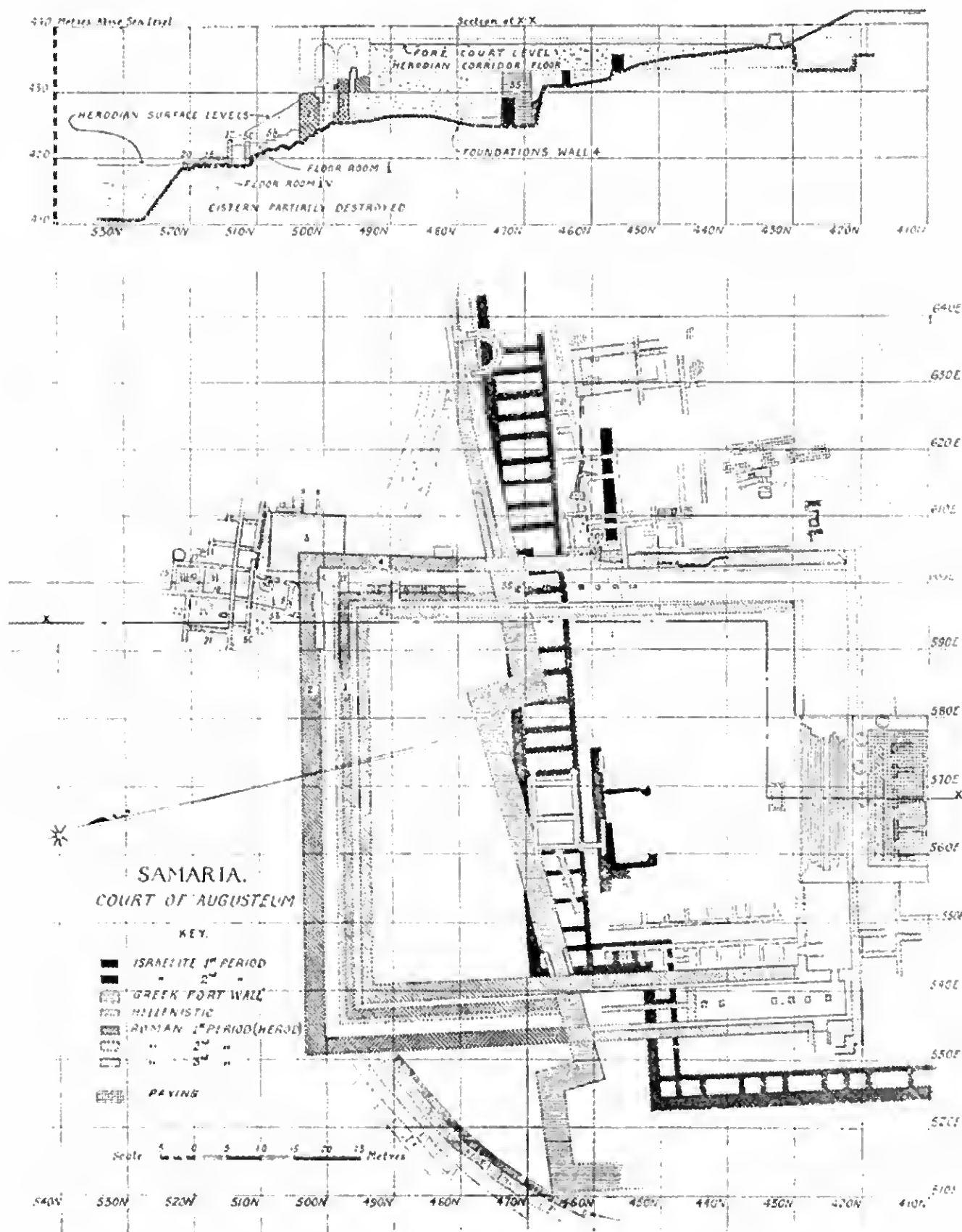
a very rough curbing wall was laid down, and between that and the eastern wall there was a series of concave levels of plaster. These levels varied in height, forming a series of two or three steps up and then down again, and so on (Pl. XIII, i.). All the edges of these steps and the resulting troughs and platforms were carefully curved and covered with plaster. Among the stones forming the foundations of these curved levels were a number of voussoirs, which suggests that the roof of the corridor had already fallen. The curved levels were replastered a number of times, sometimes with modifications of the plan. Buried in these layers of plaster were found five large pots of the late Roman ribbed type (but not with the very late flat ribs) with their mouths in one or other of the levels (Pl. XIII, ii.). It is clear that they must have been employed in some operation which required the worker's hand to be dipped in water at intervals. Probably connected with this process was a vat 3m. by 1.50m. in size, divided into two unequal compartments, which was found just north of the Greek Fort Wall. A drain from the late Roman mosaic house found in 1931 seemed to run into the corridor. The last period of the corridor is no doubt represented by a large lime kiln almost over the Greek Fort Wall, which with its fellows helped to account for the great scarcity of architectural fragments and inscriptions. These, being of marble or good quality limestone, made very much better lime than the ordinary local stone, and are greatly favoured by Sebasteyians ancient and modern. One fragment, XIM, of an inscription in this lime kiln shows the way in which many others have disappeared.

The building up of artificial platforms for the forecourts or temples was quite a usual practice in Syria in the early Roman period, and in a number of cases subterranean corridors and vaults were employed as at Samaria. The most striking parallel is Herod's rebuilding of the Temple at Jerusalem. There he was faced by the same problem as at Samaria, the lack of enough level space to provide a sufficiently grandiose setting for his building. In each case the method employed was the same, the building out of an artificial platform projecting from the side of the hill. At Jerusalem the whole shape of the mount on which Solomon's Temple was built was completely covered and Herod nearly doubled the area of the Temple enclosure by advancing the southern wall 300 feet.

In the south-west corner, the Tyropoeon Valley was covered by great substructures, and at the south-east angle the height from the rock to the floor level of the platform was 140 feet. Part of this platform was formed by great vaulted corridors, which are shown to-day as Solomon's Stables, and round the edge of the platform ran colonnades. It may well be that the subterranean corridors were added to the Augusteum at Samaria in imitation of those at Jerusalem, and this may have been done either at a later period in Herod's reign, or at some slightly later reconstruction. The Temple of Artemis at Jerash is another close parallel from the point of view of construction. There the forecourt of the temple was built out on the hillside, though the slope was not nearly so great as either at Jerusalem or Samaria. Subterranean corridors with barrel vaulted roofs formed the retaining walls of this platform on the long sides of the court, with colonnades above them. At the end of the court opposite the temple there was an elaborate propylaeum leading down to the Street of Columns. The date of these structures is certainly first or second centuries A.D.; they have been excavated partly by Dr. Fisher and partly by Mr. Horsfield, and when their results are published, a more definite date may be assigned them. The Temple of Heliopolis at Baalbek has a similar, though more elaborate system of corridors. The reason for the artificial platform there is not however the same, since the temple stands on level ground, but it is in order to raise the whole temple complex about 7.50m. above the surrounding buildings. The excavators did not succeed in getting a very close dating for the temple. The name of the colony (*Colonia Iulii Augusta Felix Heliopolitana*) shows that it must have been founded under one of the Julian emperors, and Dr. Wiegand suggests that the building may have been begun under Nero, and continued over a considerable period.¹ These examples show that this method of building was a well-established one at this period.

The excavation of the Augusteum at Samaria is now complete. The sole exception is the slight possibility of finding an entrance at the south-east angle of the courtyard, which is not very probable. Apart from this the ground plan is now entirely known. Dr. Fisher was able to reconstruct to some extent the superstructure

¹ T. Wiegand, *Baalbek*.





NORTH-EAST CORNER OF FORECOURT OF AUGUSTEUM.

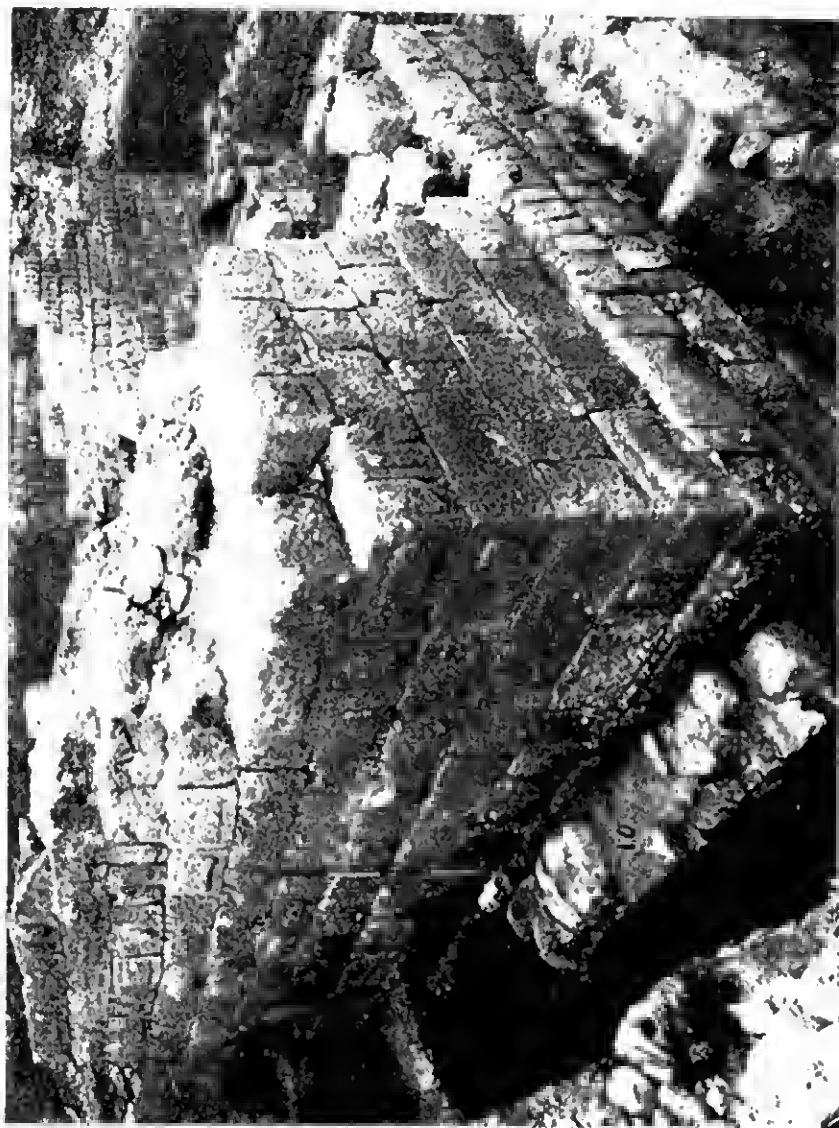
1.—INNER RETAINING WALL. 2.—OUTER NORTHERN RETAINING WALL.
3.—CORNER TOWER. 4.—OUTER EASTERN RETAINING WALL. 12.—LOWER
WALL OF RAMP. 02.—CENTRAL WALL OF CORRIDOR. ROOMS i-iv.—ROOMS
OF PRE-HERODIAN HOUSE. a.—HARVARD EXPEDITION DUMP. b.—FLOOR
LEVEL OF FORECOURT. c.—BATH. d.—CISTERN HEAD. e.—OVEN OF
THE PRE-HERODIAN HOUSE.



i. WALLS OF PRE-HERODIAN HOUSE BROKEN DOWN TO THE HEIGHTS REQUIRED FOR HERODIAN BUILDING OPERATIONS.
2.—OUTER NORTHERN RETAINING WALL OF FORECOURT. 3.—CORNER TOWER. 12.—LOWER WALL OF RAMP. a. a. a.—PRE-HERODIAN HOUSE WALLS.



ii. NORTH-EAST ANGLE OF FORECOURT FROM THE EAST.
1. 1.—INNER RETAINING WALL. 2.—OUTER NORTHERN RETAINING WALL. 3.—CORNER TOWER. 4.—OUTER EASTERN RETAINING WALL. 01.—INNER CORRIDOR WALL. 02.—FOUNDATIONS OF CENTRAL COLONNADE OF FIRST PERIOD CORRIDOR. a.—SECOND PERIOD FACING OF NORTHERN INNER CORRIDOR WALL.



CORNER TOWER OF FORECOURT OF AUGUSTEUM.
a.—FOOTINGS SLIGHTLY OFFSET AND ASKEW. 10.—PRE-HERODIAN HOUSE WALL.

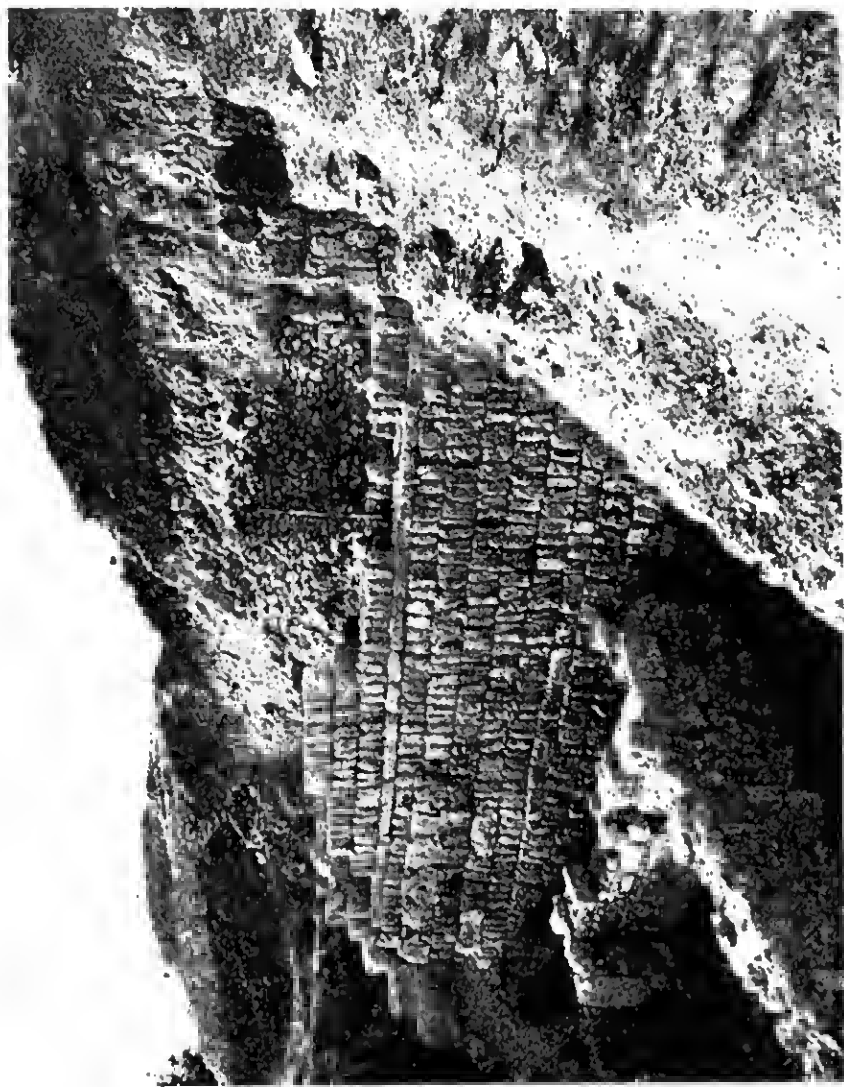


I. BUILDING OF APPARENTLY HERODIAN MASONRY CUT THROUGH BY CORRIDOR WALLS.

03.—PROBABLE HERODIAN MASONRY. *a.*—BACK OF FIRST PERIOD CORRIDOR WALL.



II. SUBTERRANEAN CORRIDOR ON EASTERN SIDE OF FORECOURT OF AUGUSTEUM. A.—FIRST PERIOD WALL. B.—SECOND PERIOD FACING. *a. a.*—SPRINGERS OF ROOF OF FIRST PERIOD. *b. b.*—SPRINGERS OF ROOF OF SECOND PERIOD. *c.*—NOTCHES CUT IN FACE OF FIRST PERIOD WALL TO TAKE BACK OF SPRINGERS OF SECOND PERIOD.



OUTER NORTHERN RETAINING WALL OF AUGUSTUS, SHOWING LATE BLOCKING.

1a.—RUBBLE WALL INCORPORATED IN PACKING CROSSING THE BROKEN TOP OF OUTER RETAINING WALL.
b, b'.—HEXAGONAL STONES FROM PLASTER (?) OF PRE-HERODIAN BUILDING.



i.—POT IMBEDDED IN LATE CURVED PLASTER LEVELS OF CORRIDOR.



ii.—EASTERN SUBTERRANEAN CORRIDOR OF AUGUSTEUM, SHOWING CURVED PLASTER LEVELS OF LATE INDUSTRIAL INSTALLATION.

of the temple, but as to a great deal of this no information at all could be obtained. This is unfortunately the case with almost all the buildings at Samaria owing to the great extent to which stone robbing has been carried. However, a great deal of the ground plan of the Herodian city has now been made clear, and it is to be hoped that subsequent seasons' work may make yet more of it known.

A SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE ON THE IVORY INLAYS FROM SAMARIA.

By HERBERT G. MAY, D.B., Ph.D., etc.

THE ivory inlays found at Samaria throw light upon the interpretation of Amos 3, 12, which, in turn, confirms the suggestion that they are of Damascene or local workmanship. The similar ivory inlays from Arslan-Tash were apparently manufactured in Damascus. This is a logical conclusion to draw from the accompanying inscription, which can hardly refer to the manufacture of the furniture exclusive of the inlays, as presumed by F. Thureau-Dangin, and our knowledge is too scant to support the hypothesis that their technique points to Cyprus or Phœnicia, rather than to Damascus.¹ The modern mother-of-pearl craft of Damascus may be a development from this earlier ivory inlay industry.

Some sort of reference to Damascus in the phrase **וּבְרִמְשֵׁק עֵרֶשׁ** in Amos 3, 12, is rendered not only probable, but almost inevitable in view of the evidence of the versions,² the improbable pointing of the Massoretic Text,³ the fruitlessness of alternative interpretations,⁴ and the possible association of the object described with the finds from Samaria. This last reason is most important. The "houses of ivory" which, as Mr. Crowfoot notes, received their name from the ivories on the furnishings within them, are mentioned in almost the same breath.⁵ Quite possibly, then, the couch and bed described in our verse were inlaid with ivory. The identical roots are used in synonymous parallelism in Amos 6, 4:

They who lie upon couches of ivory,
And stretch themselves out upon their beds.⁶

¹ See F. Thureau-Dangin, etc., *Arslan-Tash, Texte*, pp. 135 ff.

² LXX. καὶ ἐν ἀμαρύνῃ *Iepiis*; Vulgate. et in Damasci grabato; Syriac. **ܟܡܚܬܐ ܝܡܐ ܝܠܡܚܬܐ**

³ **וּבְרִמְשֵׁק עֵרֶשׁ**: written thus, **רִמְשֵׁק** is a hapaxlegomenon.

⁴ See W. R. Harper, *Amos and Hosea, International Critical Commentary*, pp. 80-83. The more probable of these readings is that by Margolis, who suggests an original **וּבְרִמְשֵׁק עֵרֶשׁ**, but this ignores the evidence of the versions.

⁵ Amos 3: 15- **בְּתֵי הָיִין**. See J. W. Crowfoot, *PEFQS*, p. 133.

⁶ **הַשְׁכִּיבִים עַל מִכּוֹת שֵׁן**
וְיִנְדְּרוּם עַל שְׂרָהֶם

We may assume from this that ערש may designate a bed decorated with ivory inlay. This is affirmed in the list of tribute sent by Ben-Hadad III to Adad-nirari III, among which the Arslan-Tash furniture with ivory inlays may be mentioned, for a bed of ivory is included in the list. It is to be transliterated *ereš šinni*⁷: its Hebrew equivalent would be ערש שן. Indeed, there may be synonymous parallelism in Amos 3, 12, the "corner of a couch" being inlaid and רמזק ערש a parallel term, in which the Damascus origin of the technique is suggested.⁸

The exact connotation of רבדמזק ערש, however, save us some sort of reference to Damascus, eludes us. In view of this, in order to approximate to the prophet's meaning, it is perhaps more wise to assume rather arbitrarily a scribal error by hypallage, reading גרעש רמזק.⁹ The verse may then be translated:

Thus says Yahweh:

"Just as the shepherd rescues from the lion's mouth

Two shank-bones or a piece of an ear,

So will the Israelites who dwell in Samaria be rescued

With the corner of a couch and with a Damascene bed."¹⁰

⁷ See Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, p. 139: text in Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscr. of Western Asia*, I, pl. 35, No. I, l. 18ff.

⁸ כפאת מזק

וכרמזק ערש

⁹ The Vulgate supports this reading.

¹⁰ Literally, "a bed of Damascus". The verse refers to a surprise attack, in which the householders are able to escape with only a small part of their possessions. The more usual translation, which represents the Israelites as dwelling on the corner of the bed, ignores the parallelism, and makes little sense in the context.

THE EXCAVATIONS AT JERASH.

BY JOHN P. NAISE, D.D.

THE City of Jerash (Gerasa) had a history of more than a thousand years as a large and flourishing centre of population. It seems to have emerged as a nucleus of Hellenistic culture and civilisation during the third century B.C., and was a very important place all through the Roman and Byzantine periods, only gradually sinking to the level of an Arabic-speaking village after the battle of the Yarmuk (Jabbok) and the Mubammadan conquest of Palestine in the middle of the viith century A.D. From the New Testament it would appear, according to the reading of the earliest uncials, that the whole territory of Gilead (Transjordan) was locally known, at the time when the first Christian missionaries were preaching, as "the country of the Gerasenes" (τὴν χώραν τῶν Ἰερασηνῶν),¹ or, as the alternative cursive reading used by the Authorised Version has it, "of the Gadarenes". Three hundred years later, in the immediate post-Constantine period, when ever more numerous companies of Roman and Greco-Roman pilgrims were annually following the example set by the Empress Helena of visiting the sacred soil and making a tour of the traditional sites, a retired military officer, Ammianus Marcellinus, himself probably a Syrian by birth, writing a Latin history of his own times at his club in Rome, mentions Gerasa, together with Bostra to the east and Philadelphia ('Ammān) to the south, as three mighty cities, fortified with strong walls, in a land full of the most plenteous merchandise. Throughout the period of its existence the population was mixed: Macedonian, Greek, and Arab names occur in the inscriptions, and there was also a Jewish community which is mentioned by Josephus. But it is the Byzantine period proper, the centuries of the great Christian councils and of the classical Fathers of the Church, that is most significant in connection with this site.

¹ Luke viii, 26 and 37.

The excavations conducted during the four years, 1928-31, have shown conclusively that we have at Jerash by far the most brilliant and complete example of a Byzantine city yet discovered in the whole of the Semitic-speaking area. Could all the ground within the walls, about two-thirds of a mile from N. to S. by three-quarters from E. to W., be uncovered and restored, a monument of the past even more intriguing than Viollet le Duc's famous reconstruction of medieval Carcassonne would be disclosed and made available for study. More interesting, because it belongs to an older and at the same time a much more highly organised and advanced type of civilisation, of which until quite lately very little was really known.

Such a reconstruction is, of course, out of the question in the case of Jerash. The eastern side of the area is occupied by a modern Arab village, whose inhabitants own the rest of the ground and partially cultivate it. From these the various plots chosen for excavation have had to be bought, either by agreement or by process of law, according to the terms embodied in the mandate and the treaties establishing the present Transjordanian régime. The permanent clearing of the whole Byzantine city would be far too costly an operation. Actually, the excavators have been compelled to dump the rubbish removed from each successive area on any convenient place close by, thus often covering up the least interesting of their finds one after another as they move to fresh centres of exploration. To carry every basketful of earth outside the circuit of the walls would be unthinkably expensive. This in spite of the employment of all the methods which the experience of field archaeologists has devised, including the use of lengths of light railway transferred from place to place as the work has developed.

The accounts which have reached us are contained mainly in two publications. The first was issued by the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, and is by Mr. Crowfoot, and entitled *Churches of Jerash*. It contains an account of the work done during the seasons of 1928 and 1929. The story is continued in the *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* for 1931, in which the progress made down to the end of October, 1931,

is set forth in two parts, a detailed preliminary description of the work done during 1930, by Profs. Fisher and McCown, and a series of extracts from Dr. Fisher's diary kept during the autumn campaign of 1931. A final complete monograph is promised by the American School when the operations shall have been definitely completed. The work, it will thus be clear, was begun under British direction, and subsequently continued by a joint American organisation. The English expert, Mr. Crowfoot, was at the head of affairs during the four spring and autumn digs in 1928 and 1929. In 1930 the work was continued by a party under the leadership of the American scholars, Drs. Fisher and McCown. Dr. Fisher's name is, of course, familiar as that of the associate of Dr. Reisner in the famous excavation of Samaria, and he is well known otherwise as having been connected with numerous previous archæological operations in Egypt and in Palestine.

There was no break between the work of the two parties. Both Mr. Horsfield and Mr. Crowfoot, the former of whom, as official Director of Antiquities in Transjordan, played the part of liaison officer between the government and the expedition, were anxious to hand over the operations to their American confrères as a going concern, and this they succeeded in doing, putting the whole of their experience at the service of the latter, and arranging for the continuance of useful administrative connections.

The two reports mentioned include a large number of plates and photographs, plans and drawings, beside a map of the whole site. Previous work on the area had been confined to preliminary surveying and the copying of a few inscriptions. The city was first definitely identified, as far as modern times are concerned, by Seetzen, in 1806. The famous Gottlieb Schumacher, the first excavator of Megiddo, whose archæological researches in the Jaulan and Transjordan in general are familiar, had mapped the site, and his map, which was used by the present expedition, proved substantially accurate as far as it went, and indeed formed the basis on which Mr. Crowfoot's first plans were made. The actual initiation of post-War work on the site was due to the enthusiasm of an American New Testament scholar, Prof. B. W. Bacon, so that the completion of the investigation by American effort is especially appropriate.

Before Mr. Crowfoot began digging the existence of the ruins of three or four Byzantine churches was suspected. But the most outstanding relic was the templo of Artemis, whose considerable remains are a notable feature on a high mound in the middle of the western half of the enceinte. This is, of course, a building of the pre-Christian Hellenistic period, like the well-known ruins at Ba'albek, in Coele-Syria between Beyrouth and Damascus, and is somewhat réminiscent of the Maison Carrée at Nîmes in Provence, and, to a less degree, of the Parthenon itself. There was also another pagan temple to the S. of the great Artemis temenos, which was later partially destroyed and partially incorporated with two large Christian churches, the Cathedral and St. Theodore's, whose ruins were the first point of excavation for Mr. Crowfoot's party.

The excavators have now explored a large part of the western side of the enclosed area which forms the site of the Byzantine and earlier cities. They have uncovered, planned, and photographed the remains of eleven churches of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries A.D. They have also determined the lie of the principal streets, and have cleared a number of shops and private dwellings. Round the great churches of St. Theodore and the Cathedral private houses and small workshops must have clustered thickly during the full prime of the fifth and sixth centuries, somewhat as is now the case in certain German cities, notably at Mainz, whilst in England, too, the great wool-church at Cirencester was until fairly recently similarly embedded in small buildings which lay close up to its walls all around it. Jerash suffered greatly from earthquakes during the centuries named, as we learn from the scanty notices in contemporary writings, and the excavations have confirmed this, and show in some places how reconstruction took place after such catastrophes.

Of recent years there has been awakened a wave of interest in the Byzantine period as a whole in its various aspects; its art and architecture as well as its economic and military organisations. Formerly it was studied only by theological students as the Age of the Fathers and the great heretics, of Basil and the two Gregories, of Theodore, Nestorius and Chrysostom, or by such solitary, if

influential, lay enthusiasts as Edward Gibbon. Moreover the less obvious sources had not, until the other day, been unearthed by the archaeologist's spade or the researches of students of the history of art. It is true that many of the artistic relics of this civilisation were well known to virtuosos in ceramics or collectors of illuminated manuscripts, and some few were illustrated in specialist works like Jacquemart's book on pottery. But few had been curious enough to attempt a picture of that civilisation in its entirety. And yet its influence dominated the thought-forms of Southern Europe for many centuries. In a famous, almost hackneyed, passage of the medieval French historian, Villehardouin, we are given a vivid picture of the way in which the first sight of xiith century Constantinople impressed and awed the half-barbaric Frankish Crusaders.

Ils ne pouvaient croire que si riche ville pût être au monde, quand ils virent ces hauts murs et ces riches tours dont elle était close tout autour de la ronde, et ces riches palais et ces hautes églises . . . et sachez qu'il n'y eut si hardi à qui le chair ne frémit.

Such, at the opening of the xiiith century, was the respect with which the rough northern races regarded the art and culture of the Byzantines. During the past generation the immense industry of Karl Krumhacher has unearthed and catalogued a great number of hitherto disregarded literary sources for the study of this period. In the older parts of S. Europe, and especially in the Levant, the work of Charles Diehl and de Vogüé has made accessible a large body of evidence illustrating the architecture and art of the Byzantines. Such evidence is found in illuminated missals like that of Cosmas in the Vatican, or the Syriac MS No. 586 now in Florence, with its famous Pentecost, or the Vth Century Psalter at Munich. There are extant ivory and stone carvings of the period like the chair of Maximian in Ravenna Cathedral with its peacocks and vinbrauches, bull, stag, goat, and partridge motifs, or the sculptured lintel at Dana in Syria, which also shows peacocks and vines, or the remarkable Barberini ivory in the Louvre.

How rich a field Syria offers for such investigations de Vogüé showed in his *Syrie Centrale*. Diehl remarks in his justly famous

book, *Justinien et le civ. byz. au VI^eme siècle*.—"Between Antioch, Aleppo, and Apamea, and still more in the South, around Damascus and in the Hanran, there exists to-day a collection of marvellous ruins. 'It forms,' says M. de Vogüé, 'a series of cities, almost intact still, the sight of which carries the traveller back into the midst of a lost civilisation, and reveals its secrets to him. Walking about these deserted streets, these abandoned courts, these cloisters where the living vine now clings around mutilated columns, we receive an impression analogous to that gained at Pompei, but more strange, since the civilisation before our eyes is less familiar to us by far than that of Augustus' day.'"

For the Byzantine civilisation, unlike that of classical Rome, was Christian. In studying it we begin to realise with increasing astonishment and admiration the nature of the path, as heroic as it is bizarre, along which our own faith and mentality has travelled to reach its present state. It is for this reason especially that the excavations at Jerash should interest us, even although they may seem to throw little new light on the Bible itself. Unrolling for us, as they do, the history of a single city during a thousand years in which its generations of inhabitants saw pass before them the whole series of events from the period before the Maccabees up to the Muhammadan invasion, it cannot but prove of glowing attraction. In especial the excavations cover the great period of the bloom-tide of Syrian Christianity. At Jerash we have seen disclosed a series of buildings not only often far better preserved, but also much larger and more beautiful than most of those explored and drafted by de Vogüé, many of which are, by comparison, small local basilicas of little importance either artistically or architecturally. The magnificent stairway to the Cathedral, the Fountain Court, and the numerous mosaics and wall-paintings, are of great interest. Many coins were also found, together with a number of fresh inscriptions. Nothing on such a scale has been brought to light in Syria previously, as far at least as the Byzantine civilisation is concerned. In the main the discoveries go to confirm the picture which historians have been patiently piecing together, and the literary evidence gathered by such scholars as Mr. H. I. Bell in England, and Profs. Wilcken, Oertel and Preisigke in Germany,

out of the later papyri now being salved from the sands of Egypt. The influence of the Byzantine fusion of Greek and Oriental culture with Christian tradition and philosophy is strikingly seen in such work as the Biblical scenes on the mosaic frieze in the cathedral at Monreale above Palermo in Sicily. The somewhat macabre, half quaint, half solemn presentation of the Biblical stories on its panels is of a form so different from the free realism of our own day that its study is as intriguing as it is informing. Jerash is a striking example of this same civilisation at its beginning and in the full strength of its best years.

WINGED MONSTERS, ETC.—SOME TENTATIVE SUGGESTIONS

BY ALAN ROWE.

IN the *Bulletin of The American Schools of Oriental Research*, October, 1932, No. 47, p. 10, Dr. W. F. Albright publishes a valuable scarab of the Hyksos period, about the 17th century B.C., found by him at Tell Beit Mirsim, in Palestine. This scarab depicts what Dr. Albright terms "an Egyptian griffin with a bird's head and wings." Further, as he correctly states, the "scarab provides additional evidence that the griffin represented on the battle-axe of Amosis I is of Egyptian and not Cretan origin, as supposed by some scholars."¹

The griffin on the above-mentioned scarab has a crest on its head, is winged, and has its tail uplifted. Under it, and to be regarded as being in the background, is a crude representation of a tree, and various lines which evidently represent the mountain desert. In fact, this griffin is not unlike a crested winged monster published by J. G. Wilkinson, *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, 1878, II, p. 93, which also has a tree and a desert background. Fabulous beings such as these were certainly believed to populate the desert.²

Now above the Tell Beit Mirsim griffin are two Egyptian hieroglyphic signs which, I suggest, are to be read ꜥꜥ (ꜥ), the *ayin* being written with the hand turned over in accordance with the general custom of the period. (Incidentally, most of the desert monsters from Beni Hasan and Thebes published by Wilkinson. *loc. cit.*, have their names over them.) This word is, I believe, the name of the griffin itself, and might perhaps be associated with ꜥ (ꜥr) "pebble"—in other words, this particular griffin possibly takes its name from the pebbly stony desert in which it lived.

¹ H. R. Hall, *The Civilization of Greece in the Bronze Age*, 1928, pp. 277, 278, states that the Cretan hawk-headed griffin was borrowed from Egypt during the Middle Minoan Era, c. 1900-1580 B.C. (XII-XVII Dynasties).

² Cf. especially W. Max Müller, *Egyptian Mythology*, pp. 169-170.

cl (r) "pebble," occurs in Erman-Grapow, *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache*, 1925, I, p. 208; see also the variants in M. Burchardt, *Die Altkanaanäischen Fremdwörter, etc.*, 1909, Nos. 270, 274, and in the interesting passage in Papyrus Anastasi I: "Cause me to know the way of crossing over to Megiddo . . . Behold the . . . (?) is in a ravine two thousand cubits deep, filled with boulders and pebbles" (Alan Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*, 1911, Part I, pp. 24, 25). The Coptic form is ⲁⲗ (W. Spiegelberg, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, 1921, p. 2).³

cl (?) was therefore, like the god Seth, a dweller in the desert. Did he (on account of his wings)—also like Seth—represent the fierce winds? Compare the later winged monsters of the wind mentioned in the next paragraph.

Other winged creatures of course occur in the more recent ivories from Arslan-Tash and Samaria. A most interesting ivory from the former place (F. Thureau-Dangin and others, *Arslan-Tash*, 1931, Plate XXVII) shows two winged rams on either side of a conventional tree, a scene which is almost closely paralleled by a Ptolemaic scene depicting two winged rams, emblematic of the east and west winds respectively, on either side of a *djed*-column of Osiris, and so on (H. Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegypticarum*, 1883-1891, p. 850). In the Egyptian parallel, the names of the winds are given.⁴

The human-headed winged walking "sphinx or cherubim" from Samaria (*Quarterly Statement*, Jan., 1933, p. 22, Plate I), reminds us of the couchant winged "Astarte sphinx" with human head, as found in Egypt,⁵ and so perhaps here represents Astarte or Ashtoreth.

This brief and hurriedly-composed article by no means exhausts the subject of winged monsters, etc., as it contains only a few tentative suggestions which the author has from time to time written down

³ Cf. also Erman-Grapow, *loc. cit.*, for a similarly spelt word, namely, cr (cl) "goat", which apparently, has no connection with the cl of the scarab.

⁴ See also W. Max Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

⁵ W. Max Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

during the course of his work on other subjects. A more extensive research should undoubtedly give many more and better results.⁶

In conclusion, my best thanks are due both to Dr. Albright, who allowed me to see the Tell Beit Mirsim scarabs on the site, and to Dr. Nelson Glueck for letting me use the beautiful photographs of these objects. Would that all excavations were so carefully and scientifically carried out as at Tell Beit Mirsim!

⁶ Incidentally, the "lady at the window" (obviously Hathor) shown in Plate 3, Fig. 3, of the same number of the *Q.S.*, recalls the rectangular silver fitting, with gold head of Hathor, published by W. M. F. Petrie, *The Palace of Apries (Memphis II)*, 1909, Plate 14. Further, the curve of the bottom of the robe as worn by the supposed Osiris figure (*Q.S.*, Plate 2, Fig. 1, p. 12), does occur in Egypt; see the fringed garment of "Osiris Un-nefer" (Osiris in the form of "He-who-exists-beautifully"), published by E. A. W. Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, 1911, I, p. 50.

THE INSCRIPTION OF ER-RAME.

BY A. MARMORSTEIN, Ph.D.

ABOUT two years ago Mr. J. Ben-Zewi discovered in the townlet Er-Rame, which is situated on the road leading from Safieth to Ptolemais (Akko) an inscription, which may be of some interest to the readers of this Journal. It is a short inscription of two lines, and pretty well preserved. The first account of the discovery appeared in the Hebrew daily paper *Dabar*, 2 Elul, 1930, reprinted now by S. Klein in the *Monatsschrift fuer die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, vol. 76, 1932, p. 551. The text reads as follows:—

(1) דכירין לטברבי אליעזר בר טידיאור ובני דבנין בית דא
(2) דאורחותה דמן קדם לתרעא יהי חולקהון

The first two words are frequent in inscriptions of similar types. They occur on the inscription of Ain-Duk (Neoran), and are explained by the present writer in Q.S., 1920, p. 139, further in the inscription of Korasein (v. *ibid.*, 1927, p. 51, and my notes, *ibid.*, p. 101).

The name of the donor is Rabbi Elieser. His father's name is spelt טידיאור, or טיראור. It surely stands for Theodoros, the Hebrew of Jonathan. He, R. Elieser ben Jonathan, or Theodorus, and his sons built this building, called אורחותה¹, i.e. a hostel before the gate. The words "before the gate" (דמן קדם לתרעא) correspond to the Aramaic translation in Esther, chap. iv. verse 6, where the Hebrew words לפני שער are rendered as די לקדם תרע. It is doubtful whether this building was situated before the gate of the town, or, perhaps, before the gate of the local synagogue. The Theodotus inscription teaches that a hostelry was attached to a synagogue (v. Q.S., 1921, pp. 22-30). Here Theodotus, the son of Vetinus, commemorated the building of a hostel with its chambers

¹ See Payne-Smith, *Syriac Dictionary*, I, 375. אורחותה, peregrinatio, B.B. Minus recte B.A. בית ארחא, quod esset xenodochium. The Er-Rame inscription supports the latter rendering of the word.

and its water-fittings for the need of those who, coming from outside, found lodging there (*kai tou xenovna*). The Greek *ξενovna* is the equivalent of the Aramaic אורדורא. I pointed out previously that, in spite of the injunction prohibiting the use of synagogues for banqueting in its buildings, there are several instances against that rule (v. *ibid.*, p. 27). The last words of the inscription ירד חולקרון can be completed with the help of the tablet found in Korascia (v. Q.S., 1927, p. 101), and also my essay, *La participation à la vie éternelle dans la théologie rabbinique et dans la légende*, in *Revue des Études Juives*, 89, 1930, pp. 305-320, especially 314. Accordingly the text can be completed by עם אברהם יצחק or עם צדיקא ויעקב. The phrase occurs: (1) Ecel. Rabbu I, 36, חיים ונבוד, וחלק עם צדיקים, life, honour and share with the pious; (2) Midrash Canticles Zutta, p. 18, היה חלק עמון, i.e. with the righteous ones; (3) Midrash Esther Rabbu, III, 6-7, האטר שיש לי חלק עמם לעולם הבא; (4) B. Berachoth, p. 1A, אבל איני יודע אם יש לי חלק ביניהם, Jacob says, ורצה חלק עם הצדיקים בגן עדן, The erection of the hostel, where lodging and food were provided for strangers and travellers, was considered an act of great charity, which deserved a good share in a blessed future life. The great virtue of hospitality is often emphasized by Rabbinic teachers (v. my "The Doctrine of Merits," London, 1920, Index, s.v. hospitality). It is a mistake, and unjustified, to ascribe this virtue to Christians, in the first instance, as done by Theodor Zahn, *Skizzen aus dem Altchristlichen Leben*, p. 176, or to limit it to Jews. As a matter of fact, Rabbinic sources mention hostelries kept by the Roman government on the great roads, where travellers found lodgings and food on their journey. These places are designated as בורגנין, the etymological meaning of which is still obscure. Some instances in which the word is employed (v. Midrash Psalms, 10, 2, ed. Buber, p. 92, Jalkut Machiri Hosea, ed. Greenup, p. 178, further Lev. Rabba, 7, 1, with parallels, and others) show clearly that these places were not Roman military outposts, as suggested by S. Krauss in his *Lehnwoerter*, as s.v., but regular well-organized hostels.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

A Wanderer in the Promised Land. By Norman Bentwich. London : The Soucino Press. pp. 263. 7s. 6d. net. 1932.

Though books of travel in Palestine are so many there may well be a place for one such as this which while throwing light on the conditions of travel and modern Palestine takes account of the activities of archæologists and historians and tries to fit them into the framework of Jewish history. Needless to say Mr. Bentwich, after some fifteen years of residence in Palestine, writes, not with the strange, but all too common, inaccuracy of the hasty tourist, but as one who really knows the land in its length and breadth. The volume is not intended as a treatise on historical geography, but is a collection of vivid sketches which have appeared elsewhere. The papers fall into three divisions. Two deal with Jerusalem, five describe parts of Palestine, and the last five are concerned with the surrounding lands in their relation with Palestine and the Bible. The first chapter, though nominally about Athlit, Cæsarea and Megiddo has its claim to priority because it tells of the discovery by Miss Garrod and others of the first remains of *Palæanthropus Palestinus*. In Chapter 2 we are conducted to "the oldest city of Jerusalem"—that revealed by the extensive excavations of the hill Ophel. It is a little difficult to understand the writer's claim to extreme antiquity for the Dung Gate which is at the Northern end of Ophel. I venture also to say he is mistaken if he supposes that the "adventurous Englishmen" ever "tried to make their way through the channel and tunnels under the hill of Ophel and the sub-structure of the Haram esh Sherif." They certainly never attempted or schemed such a proceeding. In his very interesting chapter on the Wailing Wall, Mr. Bentwich (if I understand him correctly) states that this Western wall is the only section "of the containing wall of the outermost enclosure of Herod's Temple," which has survived the destruction of the ages. What about the Southern wall with its double and triple gates, the South East corner and much of the Eastern wall of the Haram?

Those who would visit the fascinating neighbourhood of the Dead Sea must hurry up if they are to see it in its weird and lonely beauty. A concession has been granted for the exploitation of its mineral resources which if successful will :—

“ Make Palestine the centre of the greatest chemical industry in the world. If that prospect is realized, we may expect that the Sea will be covered with fleets of motor boats, and its shores at the northern and southern ends, where the mountains do not close around it, will be covered with pipes and industrial plant, the houses of workmen and the apparatus of modern industry ” (p. 107).

On the much discussed question of the site of the “ Cities of the Plain,” Mr. Bentwich considers that “ the weight of authority for the southern site is overwhelming.”

In the chapter on Galilee there is some confusion between the Synagogue of Meirōn (here called Meirion) and the name Meiron given to the shallow Lake Huleh on account of its very doubtful identification with the “ Waters of Merom ” of Josh. 11, 7 (pp. 87 and 88). The chapters on the Samaritans, on the Egyptians in Palestine and on the other side of Jordan are all most instructive. (On page 187 there is a misprint of *South* west).

Those general readers who wish to get an outline of what is to be seen to-day in this part of the Near East should consult this volume. It is thoroughly up-to-date and is rich in historical references. It is perhaps a mistake to provide so quaint a map instead of one of practical use, but that is a matter of individual taste.

E. W. G. M.

Legends of Palestine. By Zev Vilnay, Philadelphia. (Jewish Publication Society of America) pp. 492, 69 Illustrations. 1932.

This volume is a translation, with some added matter, of one published in Hebrew, under the name of *Agadot Erez Yisrael*, three years ago. The legends are almost entirely derived from Hebrew and Arabic sources—some written and some only spoken. They are of all kinds, some are quite modern. A number are already familiar to English readers through Canon Hanauer's “ Folk Lore

of the Holy Land," published a quarter of a century ago. The stories are arranged geographically, with several chapters on Jerusalem, followed by others on Judæa, Samaria, Galilee and Transjordan, but for convenience of reference there is an appendix where the legends are arranged according to subject, e.g., Caves and wells, fountains and springs, synagogues and mosques, etc.

A specially valuable and scholarly section of the book is the Appendix devoted to the "Source of the Legends."

The illustrations are of more than usual interest and many are reproductions of old pictures. (The photo on p. 416 is labelled wrong—it is a view of the Lake of Galilee).

Those who know Palestine and can appreciate folk lore will find this volume a mine of interest.

E. W. G. M.

Ain Shems Excavations 1928-1931, Parts I and II, by Elihu Grant. Biblical and Kindred Studies, Haverford College, Pennsylvania, Nos. 3 and 4, 1931, 1932.

The results of the excavations carried on during four seasons on the site of the ancient Beth Shemesh by the Haverford Archaeological Expedition under Dr. Grant's direction are to be published in four parts, of which the first two are now before us.

Part I consists of a general introduction followed by four chapters giving an account of the work of excavation on the hill of Rumeileb at Ain Shems, with a fifth chapter "Beth Shemesh in Literature" written by Prof. Irving F. Wood. It contains 22 plates of photographic reproductions of views and objects, two tomb-plans and six maps of the site at various levels.

Chapter I deals very briefly with the season of 1928, of which a preliminary report by Dr. Grant has already appeared (*Beth Shemesh*, Haverford, 1929). Chapters II-IV (pp. 11-77) describing the seasons 1929, 1930 and 1931, are in the main a reprint of the diary kept by the director of the expedition, with some additional comments of a general character. These chapters form the bulk of the volume, and must be supposed to be intended to serve the double purpose of giving the general reader an insight into the methods employed in the

excavation of a stratified site, and of setting forth all the evidence from which archaeological conclusions may be drawn in the forthcoming volumes; but, however excellent his aims may be, we cannot feel that the author is to be congratulated on the manner in which they are carried out. By far the greater part of the diary is concerned either with his general reflections on a variety of topics more or less closely related to the matter in hand, or with the trivial happenings which every excavator records day by day for his convenience or his amusement, but which can never be of sufficient interest to merit publication. Among such details are the arrival of visitors, the purchase of stores, the state of the weather and the crops, the merits and shortcomings of servants, the passing indispositions of members of the staff and their occasional absences and returns. On the other hand, if we may assume that no other field notes were made and that this diary is to be regarded as the only record of the excavations, we must confess that it strikes us as being extremely jejune: many of the rooms shewn in the plans seem to be passed over with little or no description, while much of the archaeological information is concerned with the finds of individual objects. There are, however, some useful details of stratification and walls (with diagrams) on pp. 20 and 21, an "excursus" describing a skull and skeletal remains on p. 30, and a number of suggestive reflections scattered through the volume, such as a judicious warning against a too lavish provision of equipment and staff (p. 3) and observations on the value of leaving two layers of ruins exposed simultaneously (p. 62). The remarks on "Philistine" pottery, containing a suggestion that much of it belongs really to "Late Bronze, or transition at the latest", should probably not be treated as expressing a considered opinion on this vexed question, and indeed all the views which an excavator notes in his diary must be to some extent provisional. The principal facts which we have been able to collect from this volume can be briefly stated. The work of the first three seasons was on the western side of the hill and eventually linked up with Mackenzie's excavations of 1912 in the Central City Area (P.E.F. Annual II, pp. 30 *sqq.*), in 1931 it was carried on farther to the east, on the northern and western sides of the Byzantine monastery excavated in 1911 (Annual I, pp. 72 *sqq.*). As the result of his work on the site Mackenzie had distinguished three "cities," of which the first lasted to the Tell el Amarna period,

the second represented the Philistine domination and was destroyed by fire, and the third was the unfortified city of Judah burnt by Sennacherib, its site being re-occupied later by a small population. Dr. Grant takes a somewhat different view. Including the Byzantine monastery as Level I he reckons five levels, of which V and IV are Bronze Age, and III and II Iron Age, and has observed traces of three "terrible devastations by fire," one in the middle of the second millennium B.C., the fiercest about 1000 B.C. (which he inclines to connect with the Egyptian raid on Gezer, I Kings 9, 16), and another at the time of the Babylonian Exile (Nebuchadnezzar and not Sennacherib being the conqueror). He regards the period from Thothmes III to Solomon (which seems to include Levels IV and III) as that in which Beth Shemesh was most flourishing. The excavation of the defences of the city on the west and south resulted in finding a city wall of the Middle Bronze Age, and towers of the Late Bronze Age which may have been destroyed by the Sea Peoples. In the Philistine period there was a rebuilding on a shortened line, diminishing the area of the fortified city; later on the unfortified city expanded over and beyond the wall (pp. 36-7, 50).

The photographic plates in this volume are admirably reproduced, but it is not always easy to trace their connection with corresponding passages in the text. In the plans every wall is drawn stone by stone, which strikes one as a somewhat superfluous elaboration, adding nothing of value to the descriptions of various types of masonry which must in any case be given in the text of a report. In the final chapter Prof. Wood notes the biblical and other references to Beth Shemesh, discusses briefly the possibility of identifying it with Bet Ninib and with Shamashana of the Egyptian records, and inclines to the view that Har-heres, in which the Amorites resolved to dwell (Judges I, 35), is the same as Beth Shemesh.

On p. 14 and again on p. 26 occurs the misprint "whole month" for "hole mouth" jars; on p. 79 the names of Knudtzon and of W. M. Müller are given incorrectly.

Part II is issued with the professed purpose of giving precise information on the objects found on the site. It contains 23 plates (numbered xxix to li) illustrating a large number of shapes of pottery vessels, as well as painted fragments, lamps, metal objects, seals

and scarabs. Here is ample material for a comparative study of the finds from the various levels, and we trust that this will be found in one of the forthcoming parts of the publication. In the present volume the author has contented himself with providing, in place of a seasoned commentary, a transcript of his "field registries," to which the reader is referred for information concerning provenance, fabric and decoration. The provenance is indicated by a Roman numeral denoting the level, with a room-number or reference to a map-square for which search must be made among the plans in Part I. There is often some little difficulty in tracing the objects referred to by numbers in the plate-catalogues, since the "registries" which are, after all, merely a descriptive list of objects, do not follow the numerical order, but are classified "according to antiquity" within each year (1929-31); moreover, they do not include Nos. 1-812 (of the 1928 season) which are to be found in the earlier volume, *Beth Shemesh*. That publication is frequently referred to in the Preface to Part II, which contains a few pages of comment on the pottery and objects found on the site, of a very general character and making scarcely any reference to the illustrations in the plates. The reader in search of archaeological information may be surprised to find almost the whole of p. 14 devoted to a record of the number of baskets full of sherds brought in on various dates in March and April, 1930!

To publish satisfactorily the results of an excavation is no doubt a difficult task, and unhappily no agreed standard or method has yet been evolved to which all archaeologists are ready to conform. There are, however, certain conditions which every reader has the right to require, such as the exclusion of irrelevancies, a convenient and orderly arrangement of material, and a plain straightforward account of what has been found, with due emphasis on what may be novel or important. It would be insincere to pretend that these desiderata are to be found in the two volumes which we have reviewed, but much may be expected by way of amends in those which have yet to appear, and we trust that in its final form the publication will prove not unworthy of an interesting and productive site.

Z.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS.

HEBREW.

HEBREW.	ENGLISH.		HEBREW.	ENGLISH.	
א	'		כ	<u>kh</u>	
ב	b		ל	l	
ג	<u>bh</u>		מ	m	
ד	g		נ	n	
ה	<u>gh</u>		ס	s	
ו	<u>d</u>		פ	p	
ז	<u>dh</u>		צ	f	
ח	<u>h</u>		ק	z	
ט	v, w		ר	<u>k</u>	
י	z		ש	<u>sh</u>	
כ	<u>h</u>		ס	s	
ל	<u>t</u>		ת	<u>t</u>	
מ	y		ך	<u>th</u>	
נ	k				

ARABIC.

ARABIC.	ENGLISH.		ARABIC.	ENGLISH.	
ا	'		د	<u>d</u>	
ب	b		ت	<u>t</u>	
ج	t		ث	<u>tz</u>	
ح	<u>th</u>		ج	<u>gh</u>	
خ	g	or j in Syrian Arabic.	ف	f	
د	<u>h</u>		ك	<u>k</u>	
ذ	<u>kh</u>		ك	k	
ر	<u>d</u>		ل	l	
ز	<u>dh</u>		م	m	
س	r		ن	n	
ش	z		ه	h	
ص	s		و	w	
ض	<u>sh</u>		ي	y	
ظ	z				

Long vowels marked thus:—ā, ē, ī, ū, ō.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
NOTES AND NEWS	109
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND: SIXTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING	118
SAMARIA: INTERIM REPORT, 1933. BY J. W. CROWFOOT ...	129
ISRAEL IN THE ARABAH. BY CANON W. J. PRYTHIAN-ADAMS	137
MOUNT HOR. BY CAMERON MACKAY	147
INSCRIBED HEBREW AND ARAMAIC POTSDHERDS FROM SAMARIA. BY E. L. SUKENIK	152
REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS	157
TABLE OF TRANSLITERATION	168

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

PAGE

INSCRIBED HEBREW AND ARAMAIC POTSDERDS FROM
SAMARIA :

PLATES I-IV, FIGS. 1-7 *after* 156

THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

The Office and Rooms of the P.E.F. will be closed from Monday, 7th August, re-opening Thursday, 7th September. Letters posted to the Office during that period will be forwarded.

The Sixty-eighth Annual General Meeting of the Fund was held on Thursday, June 22nd, at the House of the Fund, No. 2, Hinde Street, W. This is the first time that the Meeting has been held in the re-constructed premises, and it was, in fact, the first time that a regular meeting with lecture and lantern illustrations has ever been held in the Fund's own premises. The Bishop of Portsmouth, the Right Rev. Neville Lovett, D.D., was in the Chair and gave a most interesting address, which is fully reported in this number. Mr. J. L. Starkey, who has been carrying out the excavations at Tell Duweir, under joint British and American direction, gave a valuable account of these excavations and their results. This account will be printed and illustrated in the next number of the journal. Dr. Masterman gave a condensed summary of the report by Mr. Crowfoot of recent work at Samaria. This Report appears on p. 129 of this number. It was found that the lecture room can comfortably accommodate about a hundred people, and it is hoped that it may be possible to follow up the suggestion made by Dr. Masterman and to hold a series of lantern lectures during the winter months. The Executive Committee hope that full use may be made of the Lecture room, Library and Museum by Subscribers to the Fund. It will take some time before the Library is in a completely reorganised state, but it will already be found more convenient and the books easier of access than hitherto.

AN EXHIBITION, arranged by the WELLCOME-COLT ARCHÆOLOGICAL EXPEDITION TO TELL DUWEIR, PALESTINE, 1932-1933, will be held in the ROOMS OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND from JULY 17TH to AUGUST 4TH (inclusive). The material discovered by the Expedition, together with explanatory plans, model and photographs will be on view.

The Exhibition will be open between the hours of 11 A.M. AND 5 P.M. ON MONDAYS, TUESDAYS, FRIDAYS AND SATURDAYS. ON WEDNESDAYS AND THURSDAYS IT WILL REMAIN OPEN UNTIL 8 O'CLOCK P.M. Members of the Palestine Exploration Fund and British School of Archæology in Jerusalem, and all interested, are cordially invited.

The coming of spring has once more unleashed the archæologists, and the attack on the hidden secrets of the ancient East is being renewed with unwonted vigour. Besides the excavations at Samarin, where the P.E.F. and B.S.A.J. are co-operating with the University of Harvard, five other important expeditions are now at work. Professor Garstang, whose onslaught on Jericho has been as unrelenting as Joshua's, is now attacking the site of the royal palace, and has great hopes of discovering the archives of the city. He has already announced the discovery of a small tablet bearing cuneiform signs. Professor Sir Flinders Petrie, now on his fifty-eighth campaign of excavation, is continuing the investigation of the ruins of ancient Giza. Fresh ground is being broken at Tell Duweir, recently suggested as the site of Lachish, by Mr. J. L. Starkey, who has been working in Egypt and Palestine for some years with Sir Flinders Petrie. Pottery of the 14th century has already been discovered on the site. In Mesopotamia a joint expedition of Oxford University and the Field Museum of Chicago has begun work on what is believed to be the site of Sargon's capital, Agade. Lastly, Mr. Mallowan, under the auspices of the British Museum, is taking out an expedition to carry on excavation in the neighbourhood of Nineveh for the British School of Archæology in Iraq.

The excavations at Ur continue to yield new and significant material, Mr. Woolley reports the recent discovery of "a dozen complete tablets, together with numerous fragments, and over

100 seal impressions. The tablets can be assigned on epigraphical grounds to a period between that of the semi-pictographic tablets found at Jemdet Nasr, in association with polychrome pottery, and the (later) tablets from Farah, which were the oldest obtained from excavations prior to the war; for the study of the development of the cuneiform script they are very valuable."

Students of the early history of Christianity will be encouraged by the recent find in the Fayoum to hope that the soil of Palestine may yet yield up a similar treasure. Practically nothing has been hitherto known about that early rival of Christianity, Manichæism, except from the hostile reports of the early Fathers. Nevertheless, its influence, especially in the East, probably exceeded that of Mithraism. From the documents discovered in a box at Medinet Madi, in the Fayoum, it will be possible for the first time to learn something of the life and opinions of Mani from the original sources. The material apparently includes the autobiography of Mani, his cosmogony and ethical writings, and a Coptic Manichæan hymn-book. The new evidence also establishes as a fact the supposition that Mani visited India.

The Tabghah mosaics recently unearthed in the Tabghah basilica between Tiberias and Capernaum constitute another interesting piece of evidence relating to the early development of Christianity. Dr. Schneider, in a recent lecture on the mosaics, expressed the opinion that they belonged to the second half of the 4th century, a time when the newly Christianized Jewish population of Galilee strongly disapproved of human representation. This explains why the mosaics included floral and animal imagery but no pictorial representations of Christ or the Virgin. He also inferred, from the knowledge displayed of the colour possibilities of the local limestone, and of the characteristic types of Palestinian flora and fauna, that the mosaics were made by a Palestinian artist.

The attention of physical anthropologists has been turned to Palestine of late. The current issue of the *Journal* of the Royal Anthropological Institute contains no less than three important

articles dealing with the physical characteristics of pre-historic man in Palestine. The contents of these articles are described below (p. 157). As the advance of modern discovery enables us increasingly to penetrate the darkness which surrounds the problem of Hebrew origins, the contributory aid of anthropology becomes doubly valuable, and is being more fully recognised. Reference might here be made to an important recent book by Dr. E. Ruppin, *die Soziologie der Juden*, whose opening chapter contains an illuminating discussion of the racial origins of the Jewish people.

A point of special interest to students of the Old Testament is raised by Professor Garstang in connection with the latest phase of his work at Jericho. Writing in the weekly edition of the *Times*, he says:—"Underlying the attrition layer, and associated with the underlying deposits are the continuous traces of destruction and fierce fire. The building which occupied the central position of the area is found to have been burnt in places to the ground, and nowhere stands more than 5 ft. high. It comprises a court and living rooms and a whole series of external chambers with stocked store-rooms. It is not easy to describe the present appearance of these remains without going beyond the range of scientific expression. The ordinary 'burnt layers' familiar in excavations of city mounds cannot be compared at all with these impressive traces of a terrific conflagration; and though the stored oil and grain must have contributed to the intensity of the fire, it is clear that such an effect could only have been obtained by studied preparation."

It is a matter for regret that, at a time of specially fruitful activity in the scientific excavation of Palestine, Mr. John Rockefeller, Jun., has decided to withhold the second moiety of his promised gift of two million dollars to the Government of Palestine for the building, equipping and endowing of an archaeological museum in Jerusalem. The condition of the offer was that the building should be finished by 1931. Since the Government of Palestine has failed to carry out the contract, he has now withheld the second part of his gift.

Another regrettable occurrence, fortunately more easily remediable, is the announcement by the Hebrew University that, owing to the present financial stringency, it has been obliged to discontinue its subscriptions to the following periodicals: *Hibbert Journal*, *Modern Language Review*, Palestine Exploration Fund publications, *Times Educational Supplement*, *Aristotelian Society Proceedings*, *Folklore*, *Journal of Theological Studies*, *The Antiquaries Journal*, *The Expository Times*. Sir Philip Hartog, writing to the *Jewish Chronicle*, says:—"I write to ask whether any of your readers who receive these periodicals or others, would be good enough to present their copies, from this time onwards, to the Hebrew University. They would be forwarded free of charge by the Honorary Secretary of the "Friends of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem," Miss Derenhurg, 28, Hyde Park Square, London, W.2."

Poverty, however, does not damp the archaeological ardour of the Hebrew University. In November of last year, under the leadership of Dr. Sukenik, it undertook the excavation of the ancient synagogue at Hamat-Gadar (El-Hamme), on the northern bank of the Yarmuk river. The whole area of the synagogue and its adjoining buildings were cleared in the course of the diggings. The most important discovery was the interesting mosaic floor of the synagogue, showing various designs and four Arabic inscriptions. An unusual feature of these inscriptions is the fact that they give not only the names of the donors, but the amounts which they contributed to the building of the synagogue and the names of the cities from which they came. Capernaum occurs for the first time in an inscription of this period.

Under the heading of *Ethics and Archaeology*, the Editor of *Nature* discusses a point of considerable contemporary importance. He raises the question of how far it may be legitimate for an archaeologist or ethnologist to make use, as material for his own work, of objects placed on exhibition in a public museum, and whether there should be a "closed time" for reference to such objects. The point at issue is the question of the use of the evidence afforded by the material objects thus exhibited, before the excavator has had time or opportunity to express his views concerning their

bearing upon the more general aspect of the problems upon which he is at work. There has been so great an increase of late in the interest shown by the general public in the results of excavation that it has become customary to publish in the daily press items of special significance. Such items, detached from their context, are often used to support views or theories quite at variance with the total evidence from which such items are culled. Such a practice, all too common, clearly comes under the head of what the Editor of *Nature* designates as "unjustifiable exploitation."

P.E.F. PUBLICATIONS. It may be noted in the Fund's list, that many of our earlier publications, both books and maps, have become out of print. There is still a demand for many of them, and it is suggested that some members may be disposed to assist the Fund by presenting copies of such works for inclusion in our second-hand list, in the event of their having ceased to be of personal utility.

By an arrangement with Sir Flinders Petrie, Members of the P.E.F. are enabled to purchase at half the published price the Reports of the British School of Egyptian Archaeology dealing with the Society's researches in Palestine. Reciprocally, the excavation Reports of the P.E.F. henceforth issued are available to Members of the School in Egypt similarly at half-price. P.E.F. Members desirous of taking advantage of this privilege should apply to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, W.1.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

The Annual Report and Accounts, with list of subscriptions for the year 1932, was issued with the April number.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND INCOME TAX.—Subscribers may, if they wish, covenant to pay their subscriptions for seven years, thereby enabling the Fund to benefit by the recovery of

Income Tax thereon. A form of covenant was issued with the July *Quarterly Statement*, 1932, and copies of this form may be had on application to the Assistant Secretary.

The Committee gratefully acknowledge receipt of the forms already completed.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following :—

The Antiquaries Journal, April.

The Expository Times, May. Recent Biblical Archaeology, by the Rev. Dr. J. W. Jack.

The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, May, 1933. The Bull Standards of Egypt. By G. A. Wainwright.

The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LXII, 1932. A New Mesolithic Industry : The Natufian of Palestine. By Miss D. A. E. Garrod. Excavations in the Mugharet-el-Kebarah. By F. F. Turville-Petre. A Note on the Fauna of the Athlit Caves. By Miss Dorothea Bate.

The Near East, Feb.-June. Arab and Jew in Palestine (March 9).

The Scottish Geographical Magazine, March, May.

The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Vol. lxii, Pt. II.

Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Nos. 49, 50. More Light on the Canaanite Epic of Aleyân Baal and Môt. By W. F. Albright.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, March, 1933. The Record of Darius's Palace at Susa. By R. G. Kent. Review of W. F. Albright, The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim, Vol. i. By O. R. Sellers.

The Geographical Review, April.

The Homiletic Review, March-June.

The American Journal of Philology, Vol. liv, 1.

Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York). Assyria : A New Chapter in the Museum's History of Art. By H. E. Winlock.

The Museum Journal (Philadelphia), Vol. xxiii, No. 3. Excavations at Ur. By C. L. Woolley. The Pottery of Tell Billa. By E. A. Speiser.

Journal Asiatique, ccxxi.

Le Monde Oriental, Vol. xxiv., fasc. 1-2.

Revue Biblique, April. New Inscriptions from Gebel Druze and the Hauran (continued). By M. Dunand. Helbon and its Environs. By PP. Abel and Barrois.

Syria, xiii, 4. The Civilization of the Third Millennium in the Jordan Valley. The Excavations at Teleilat Ghassul. By P. A. Mallon. Note on the Cult of Demeter in Palestine. By H. Seyrig.

Archiv für Orientforschung, viii, 4-5. Notes on the Aramaic Inscription from Sujin, by G. R. Driver. Inscriptions in an unknown script in the Leiden collection, by F. M. Böhl; &c. Reports of recent excavations in the Near East.

Litteræ Orientales, liv. Otto Harrassowitz: Leipzig. The Name "Jacob." By G. Jacob.

Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, Feb.-April. Review of S. Ronzevalle, *Venus Lugens et Adonis* Byblius, and R. Mousterde, *Objets et Inscriptions Magiques de Syrie*, by H. Thiersch. In Abraham's Bosom, by B. Heller. Review of M. Blanckenhorn, *Modern Views on the Geology of Palestine*, by G. Dalman. Review of F. M. T. Böhl, *Palestine in the light of Recent Excavations and Discoveries*, by E. Sellin. Review of W. Borée, *The Old Place-names of Palestine*, by K. Gallig.

Zeitschrift für die alttest. Wissenschaft, x, 1. Hen and Hosed in the Old Testament, by W. F. Lofthouse.

Biblica, Vol. 14, pt. 2. The Last Phase of the Stone Age in Palestine, by A. Mallon. Review of E. L. Sukenik, *The Ancient Synagogue of Beth Alpha*, by A. Mallon.

Associazione Internazionale Studi Mediterranei, Bollettino, Ann. III, 5-6. A Survey of the Excavations in Syria, 1931-1932, by F. Cumont.

Archiv. Orientalni, Vol. iv, No. 3.

Bible Lands, April.

Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society. No. I, April, 1933

The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society, Vol. xiii, Nos. 1-2. Where were Madmenah and the Gebim? By Henry H. Walker.

NEA ΣΙΩΝ Jan.-April.

Al-Mashrik, Feb.-April.

New Judea, Feb.-June.

The Annual of the British School at Athens, No. xxxi. Session 1930-1931.

Clara Rhodos, Vol. vi-vii.

The Jewish Quarterly Review, April. The Gracco-Roman View of Jews and Judaism in the Second Century, by Norman Bentwich.

The Anglo-Jewish Association, 61st annual report.

Section 2 of the April issue of the *Bulletin* contains a report by Ambrose Lansing of the Museum's excavations at Lisht, where the main work of the Egyptian expedition, 1931-1932, took place. Also an account by N. de G. Davies of the graphic branch of the expedition.

Myth and Ritual, edited by S. H. Hooke. Oxford University Press.

The Ancient Synagogue of Beth Alpha : an account of the excavations conducted on behalf of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. By E. L. Sukenik. From the Hebrew University Press, Jerusalem : Oxford University Press, 1932.

Emmaus : sa Basilique et son Histoire. By PP. L.-H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, O.P. Leroux, Paris, 1932.

L'Etang supérieur et l'approvisionnement en eau de la Jérusalem antique. By Adolphe Lods. Extract from the Fifth International Congress of Archæology, Algiers, 1933.

Masada, die Burg des Herodes und die römischen Lager ; mit einem Anhang : Beth-Ter. Von Prof. Dr. Adolf Schulten. Leipzig. J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buch-handlung, 1933.

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.
SIXTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

The sixty-eighth Annual General Meeting of the Fund was held on Thursday, June 22nd, 1933, at 3.15 p.m., at the Fund's House, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, London, W.1, this being the first occasion on which the Fund had made use of the Meeting Room in its reconstituted premises. The Bishop of Portsmouth (the Right Rev. Neville Lovett, D.D.) presided over a large gathering of subscribers and their friends, and Mr. J. L. Starkey gave an account of the recent excavations at Tell Duweir.

Apologies for absence were received from the Bishop of Rochester, Principal Sir George Adam Smith and H. D. Acland Esq.

The Hon. Secretary (Dr. E. W. G. Masterman) read the minutes of the 67th annual meeting, held on 16th June, 1932, and these were confirmed and signed by the Chairman.

The Hon. Secretary referred to the death of Professor A. H. Sayce, whose passing had entailed great personal loss to many individuals, as well as to the whole world of archaeology. He also reported that twelve subscribers had qualified for full membership during the past year. He proposed new names for addition to the General Committee, as follows:—The Bishop of Portsmouth, Sir Flinders Petrie, Prof. R. A. S. Macalister. The last two had been on the Executive Committee, but as they would in future be unable to attend the meetings of that Committee, they had been put on the General Committee, subject to the approval of the annual general meeting. (Agreed.)

Sir Charles Close (Chairman of the Executive Committee), in moving the adoption of the Annual Report and Accounts for the year 1932, already in the hands of subscribers, and taken as read, said:—

MY LORD BISHOP, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I beg to propose the adoption of the Annual Report and Accounts for the year 1932. These have already been some time in the hands of subscribers and, perhaps, may be taken as read. It has been mentioned, in the report, that during 1932 we suffered

the loss by death of several members of our Society, notably Field-Marshal Viscount Plumer, Dr. Lewis B. Paton and Rev. Dr. W. Ewing, all members of the General Committee.

Since the close of the year, we have also had to deplore the death of Dr. Sayce, the oldest member of the Executive Committee, who died on the 4th February, 1933, at the age of 87. As far back as 1874 he had been a member of the Old Testament Revision Company. As stated by Professor Stanley Cook, "he will be remembered by his emphasis upon the supreme importance of the archaeological and monumental evidence for Biblical research".

During the year 1932 the Executive Committee, on behalf of the Fund, contributed £1,000 towards the cost of the excavation of Samaria, which is being carried out by Harvard University, this Fund, the British School of Archaeology, the British Academy, and the Hebrew University. We hope to contribute a small sum during the course of 1933, when, probably the work will be brought to a close.

We are losing the services, as Editor of the *Quarterly Statement*, of Dr. Stanley A. Cook, who has been appointed Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge. Under Professor Cook's guidance our journal has retained, and, indeed, has increased, its importance as a guide to contemporary exploratory work in the Holy Land. But we are glad to know that Professor Cook will continue to serve upon the Executive Committee, so that we shall still have the benefit of his great learning. We owe to Professor Cook our most sincere thanks for his eminent services to the Fund. He will be succeeded as Editor by Prof. S. H. Hooke.

There is another change amongst the officers of the Fund to announce. One of our Honorary Treasurers, Brig-General Paul Stewart, has recently come into possession of the remote island of Coll, and he finds that it will be impossible for him to attend at all regularly at the meetings of the Executive Committee. He has, therefore, felt obliged to resign the honorary treasurership, but we hope to retain his services as a member of the Executive Committee. We are very grateful to General Paul Stewart of Coll for his excellent work for the Fund as hon. treasurer. He will, if approved by this general meeting, be succeeded by Colonel Stewart Newcombe, who,

it will be remembered, carried out, some years ago, a remarkable survey of the Negeh or desert south of Beersheba.

Before I sit down, I should like to be permitted to say a few words about this house. These freehold premises were presented to the Fund by Mr. Walter Morrison in 1911. Mr. Morrison was hon. treasurer of the Fund for 54 years. The Executive Committee propose to put up in the entrance hall a tablet to commemorate Mr. Morrison's gift.

In December last certain leases ran out, and the Fund became free to re-let the upper floors and to reconstruct the ground floor. We have now let the first floor and the front hasement to the Egypt Exploration Society, and we are very glad to have as tenants such an important Society, which works in a land so intimately connected with Palestine. We expect to let the two upper floors on favourable terms. As to the ground floor, which we inhabit ourselves, it is only necessary to look round to see the changes which have been made. We have carried through a complete reconstruction, and we now have a lecture-room, a museum and a library. The lecture-room and library speak for themselves; we hope that students will use the library freely, and that kindred societies will use the lecture-room for their meetings. As to the museum, we are at the beginning of things. We wish, above all, to make the museum useful, interesting and attractive. We have the most valuable help of Mr. Sidney Smith, of the British Museum, in describing and arranging the exhibits. A commencement has been made with the labels of the casts of Palestinian-inscribed stones, which you see against the walls. We hope that, eventually, every student of things Palestinian will approve of the arrangements with regard to exhibits, archaeological, ethnographical and geographical, and that No. 2, Hinde Street, will become a real centre of knowledge for all interested in the Holy Land.

I beg to move the adoption of the report and accounts for 1932.

The Hon. Secretary, in seconding the motion, pointed out that the whole credit for the initiation and for the carrying out of the great improvements at 2, Hinde Street, was entirely due to the Chairman, Sir Charles Close. The Executive Committee, of course, took their full share of the responsibility for the financial expenditure. It was hoped that all the members and subscribers would be as

pleased as the Committee was with what had been done. They must see it themselves before leaving. Now that the P.E.F. had this fine lecture room it was hoped that it would be available for occasional lectures—say five or six each winter—for the benefit of the members and subscribers.*

With regard to the joint excavation at Samaria, the present campaign would come to an end this year. It has been arranged with the approval of the American Committee that the full report of the work should be published in 1934 in the form (but not so named) of the P.E.F. "Annual." This was a most satisfactory arrangement for the P.E.F. The cost of publication, though shared with the University of Harvard Archaeological Committee would take all the money available from the regular subscriptions in 1934, when we allowed for the paying off what was due that year on the debt on the expenses of the reconstruction scheme.

There was, however, a legacy of £125 from the late Mr. Herbert Bentwich, which he bequeathed to the P.E.F. with the condition that it should be expended on some further work at the site of Gezer. If anyone cares to add something to this fund it would be most welcome. It is hoped that if Mr. Crowfoot's services are available in Palestine during 1934 he will be able to undertake this special piece of work.

Lastly, the Hon. Secretary stated that it was his privilege to give a summary of an "Interim Report," which Mr. Crowfoot had written expressly for this meeting. To read the whole report would take too long, but this was unnecessary, as it would be printed in the July *Quarterly Statement* when, he trusted, all those present would read it, and also it was hoped that sometime in the Autumn, when we had the annual meeting of our sister Society—"The British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem"—Mr. Crowfoot would himself give a fuller and more detailed account of his work.

The Hon. Secretary then read extracts from Mr. Crowfoot's report, pointing out on a plan of the site (shown on the screen) the situation of the various points referred to.

* The Chairman and Officers of the Fund would like also to record here their appreciation of the loyal and efficient manner in which the Assistant Secretary, Mr. Ovenden has carried out the instructions of the Committee and managed the difficult and numberless details concerned with the reconstruction arrangements.

ELECTION OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The Rev. F. G. Weston proposed the election of the Executive Committee, constituted as follows:—

Chairman : Sir Charles Close.

Hon. Treasurers : Sir Robert Mond, and Colonel Stewart F. Newcombe.

Hon. Secretary : Dr. E. W. G. Masterman.

Prof. S. A. Cook.	Sir Frederic Kenyon.
O. G. S. Crawford, Esq.	Sir Charles Marston.
Dr. Cecil Curwen.	Prof. J. L. Myres.
Prof. A. C. Dickie.	Ernest Richmond, Esq.
Sir Arthur Evans.	The Bishop of Rochester.
Prof. J. Garstang.	Sidney Smith, Esq.
Prof. S. H. Hooke (Editor).	Brig.-Gen. E. M. Paul Stewart of Coll.

Mr. Weston said he counted it a great honour to be able to make that proposition, in that he claimed to be an old supporter of the Fund having joined in his University days. He wondered whether the Committee sent a copy of the *Quarterly Statement* to the Cambridge Union in these days as it did in the past. To the reading of the *Statement* in his undergraduate days and the only visit he ever paid to Palestine just before he was ordained, the speaker attributed his interest in the work of the Fund. He thought the Committee deserved all the praise that could be given them for what they had accomplished on somewhat meagre funds. As he was speaking in the presence of one who was his school-fellow at Sherborne, their worthy Chairman, he would digress no further but conclude by saying that the names of the Committee were all well known and that the subscribers felt honoured in having such a galaxy of great men to serve their cause. The ensuing year's work could safely be entrusted to them.

The Rev. J. Ll. Thomas, in seconding, said he had been a subscriber to the Fund for something like forty years ; he had not only attended many of its meetings, but had many times lectured on behalf of the Fund, especially in Wales, and had twice visited Palestine.

The Chairman then put the motion to the vote and declared it carried unanimously.

ELECTION OF AUDITORS.

On the motion of Sir Charles Close, seconded by Dr. E. W. G. Masterman, Messrs. Turquand Youngs & Co., were unanimously re-elected Auditors for 1933.

ADDRESS BY THE BISHOP OF PORTSMOUTH.

The Chairman: I see by the Agenda that I am now required to deliver what is facetiously called "An Address." I first want to say that you must not blame me for the fact that I am in the Chair this afternoon. I should never, in the moments of my wildest aspiration, have imagined myself presiding at a meeting of this famous and most valuable Palestine Exploration Fund. However, when my friend, Sir Charles Close, wrote to me and asked me to do so and would take no refusal, there was nothing for it but to comply. I do not think I should have done so if I had known that an old school-fellow (Mr. Weston) would be present, because he would be able to prognosticate how incompetent I should be to say anything that was worth your while to listen to.

I cannot claim in any way to be, sufficiently, a scholar, or to have anything to offer as to your objectives, or to have any sort of personal experience of your active work. My reason for venturing to ask that I might become a member of your Fund was that, unlike my school friend who has been working for the Fund for many years, I have been only a respectful onlooker, immensely interested and profiting much by your achievements. I felt that the time had come, if indeed it was not overdue, when I ought to show my interest in and sympathy and value for your activities by becoming, as I hoped, just a humble member. That is the way events have worked to lead you into the unfortunate position of having an utter ignoramus in the Chair this afternoon.

But I want to say that I think that every religious leader, every religious student, must feel an enormous debt of gratitude to the work that you are carrying on. The fact that one may have been long in joining the membership is not an indication that one is not immensely grateful for what is done, for you bring to light the footsteps of former men, or, shall we say, former traces, in the land of Palestine, to enlighten and to help the study of history and eternal verities which originated from the Holy Land, and which belong to the Hebrew people. This must have been at all times

a great service to all religiously-minded people, and to all students of history and archæology.

But I venture to suggest that just now we have an additional reason for being interested and concerned in the work that the Fund is doing. There is a recrudescence in the world—not, thank God, all over the world, but in the world—of that hostility to the Hebrew people which one supposed was as little likely to return to the experience of mankind, or to our sight and knowledge, as the ashes of the London that Boadicea burned or of the Jericho that Joshua burned. The return of active repugnance towards the Jewish people in one great country in Europe surely must lead us on to ponder anew the fascinating and secular phenomenon of the B'nai-Israel. There is so much more we should like to know about that people, though I suppose one is over-sanguine in thinking that we could look to excavations to answer some of our most interesting problems in that connection.

For instance, three of them occur to me. First, the extraordinary thing that this little people in Syria, evolved, if I may put it from the point of view of the historian, the conception of a God that was invisible and of whom no form or shape must be made. Surrounded as they were by idolatrous cults of all kinds, they, of course, had their lapses; but, on the whole, under circumstances which, from all one knows about other races and religious ideas in primitive times, would have led one to suppose it almost impossible, they evolved the idea of God Invisible, and maintained it against all the idolatrous influences around them.

What led to that? What produced that? I have seen it suggested that their experience in the Wilderness of thunderstorm and earthquake, sand storm, winds, tempests of all kinds, led them to think out or receive the impossibility of giving form and shape to their Deity. Anyhow, there is that, to my mind, clear fact. I am no ethnologist. I daresay I am open to correction, but I should very much like to know if there is any other case known amongst men of the idea of God in emptiness, which I think is one way in which you may describe their conception of Jahveh or Jehovah, or whatever form that sacred name had, their conception of Him as being there, but unseen, of an Holy of Holies which was void. I do not know whether you can expect that your excavations

will ever reveal anything that will throw new light upon that.

Then take again their foreign policy, if one can call it so. I think we are often apt, in studying the Old Testament, to take what really were incidents of short duration over long periods of years as indicative of the common attitude of the Hebrew people, whereas the fact, as it appears to me, seems to be that the record of their story, as it has come down to us, really contains the great hours of crisis, where somebody or other had to stand for national principles. On these occasions their foreign policy was brought out, viz., that their strength was "to sit still"; that "in returning and rest they were to be saved." Great powers swept backwards and forwards over Palestine, and the Hebrews had enough statesmanship to perceive that it was the policy for them to let these rising and falling kingdoms and empires devour one another; that, just off the main road of the traffic of warfare, they ought to keep quiet, and that so they would survive. I do not know, but in the face of what one hears in modern politics and modern national movements, one takes one's hat off to the people who had sufficient restraint to lay aside all ambitious scheme of conquest, and so forth. Of course, there are cases like King Solomon and Jeroboam II in Samaria, of which we have been hearing, where the monarch personally had schemes of ambition, but I think it is a fair inference, taking the story of the B'nai-Israel as a whole, that their fundamental policy was to keep themselves to themselves. How far that will be corroborated by your excavations it is for one more familiar with your work in the present, and with the possibilities of the futuro, to say.

And then one last peculiarity which I think is immensely interesting: their exclusiveness, their effort to keep their blood pure. Of course, we find when we get down to New Testament times, great activity in the matter of proselytes, but, on the whole, their policy was to keep their blood pure. Three little stories occur to one which throw light on their attitude; the incident of Moses and his Ethiopian wife; Ruth "amidst the alien corn"; and Jonah, with his extreme reluctance to do anything that would result in good to the people of Nineveh. They are beautifully told stories, but they bring out their policy with regard to contact with other nations and the desire, as I see it, to keep themselves to themselves.

Now, these belong to what you might call "an auld song":

the conception of God Invisible; the primitive conception of the security of a people who will lay aside the use of the horse, for instance, and purposes of conquest over other nations and, finally, the desire to keep the race pure and distinct. I think it is fair to say that what was characteristic of them in the Old World has had a great deal to do with their long story since, and the fact that they are still among the nations of the earth, alone among the people of the Old World. They survived, with these characteristics modified of course, according to circumstances, but still, I think, counting, if I may venture to suggest it to those who know far more than I do, laying emphasis really and fundamentally on these three principles.

It always seems to me that, apart from the religious side of things, the phenomenon of the B'nai-Israel is one of the most astounding and fascinating subjects in the whole story of mankind; and as regards Palestine, it seems to me to exceed all the interests of the Bronze Age and the Hittite Kingdom, the comings and goings of Empires like Egypt, Assyria and Babylonia, the Roman occupation, the romance, fascinating in itself, of the Latin kingdom inaugurated by Baldwin I, which lasted over one hundred years. All these have their charm, their interest, and their reward if studied, but above and beyond all, I think, stand the B'nai-Israel, with their religious conception, their political policy and their, shall I say, "eugenics."

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have already said more than I have any fitness for saying, and I ask you now to listen to one who really knows what he is talking about, Mr. Starkey, the director of the excavations at Tell Duweir.

EXCAVATIONS AT TELL DUWEIR.

Mr. J. L. Starkey then delivered his lecture on the Joint British and American excavations at Tell Duweir. Mr. Starkey's paper, accompanied by illustrations, will be published in the October number of the *Quarterly Statement*.

VOTES OF THANKS.

Sir Robert Mond: Ladies and Gentlemen,—You have had the privilege of hearing the Lord Bishop mention to you some of the very much larger factors which lie at the root of all that we are trying to achieve in our excavations in Palestine and in other countries. We are excavating not only with the idea of

finding objects, not only with the idea of filling museums, not only with the idea of making pretty pictures. We are excavating in the hope of finding and being able to prove by the record of what we are finding—what I might call the exploration of Nature's notebooks on the history of mankind, as illustrated in the country in which we are working. The Lord Bishop has pointed out this remarkable phenomenon which must have been noted by all of you: how this small people, presumably coming from somewhere beyond the shores of the Persian Gulf and settling down in the hill country of Judæa, were not only able to maintain a religious and political outlook on life which has permeated a large proportion of human thought, but also succeeded in being the translators and transmitters between Eastern and Western culture. It is a remarkable fact that, of all the many people who inhabit the eastern end of the Mediterranean, so few have ever succeeded in making their thoughts, ideas and culture felt in the West. It is only this small people who lived up in the hill country who have really successfully acted as a bridge between Eastern and Western thought. An immense impression was made on me when, a few months ago, I went to Tell Duweir, when my friend Mr. Starkey showed me what he had actually succeeded in doing in the few weeks he had been at work. Those who have been following the long and varying work we have been doing at Samaria over a large number of campaigns must feel considerable surprise at the large amount of positive results we have been able to achieve in two or three months at Tell Duweir. Most of what you have seen during the course of the lecture is self-explanatory; an isolated hill-town, surrounded by a formidable system of fortification, which was erected at different periods, but which, fortunately for us, and speaking as an archæologist, was abandoned at a sufficiently early time to yield us undisturbed cultivation levels, so that we can understand what was left. The finding of one little bronze feather, the finding of one little bronze crest of those numberless troops that Sennacherib threw against that fortress, suddenly throws light you scarcely hoped to see on an important subject. It is just such things as that which give great intrinsic interest to excavation: the continual light thrown by comparatively small and simple objects which conduce from all possible directions to put your conclusions on a firm foundation.

I wish to express, on your behalf, our very sincere thanks for

the well-thought-out lines on which Professor Starkey has tackled his task. You will have noticed that he was surrounded with the difficulty every excavator meets with : the question of where to put the débris so as not to hurry more than he found. You will realise how he started at the bottom of the slope to examine the ground so as to see he could deposit safely there in future. By so doing and carefully thinking the matter out beforehand, instead of starting with a heap of stones on which nothing would grow, he was able to produce a set of terraced levels useful for agriculture, and thus gain the goodwill of the inhabitants round about—a factor which is immensely important to those who want to excavate.

There is another point with regard to excavation, especially in Eastern countries, which, in this connection, I should like to mention. All those who have had experience in excavating know that we automatically establish relations with the people who work for us, and with those round about which do more, perhaps, to bring about goodwill between ourselves and these people than anything we can do by passing laws, by sending out money, by building forts or anything else. We get to know the people, to know their difficulties and idiosyncrasies ; not only do we do that, but we get them to trust us, which is an important point. That is one of the feelings I was happy to find existed at Tell Duweir.

I have the greatest pleasure now in asking you to pass a most hearty vote of thanks, both to the Lord Bishop for presiding and to Mr. Starkey for his admirable lecture.

In seconding the vote of thanks, the Hon. Secretary stated that Mr. Starkey's very interesting lecture would appear, with illustrations, in the October *Quarterly Statement* ; and, further, Mr. Starkey had asked him to say that during July some of the "finds" from Tell Duweir would be on exhibition in London—it is not yet quite settled where, but an announcement would be made later.

The votes of thanks having been accorded amid hearty acclamation,

The Chairman said : Thank you very much, and perhaps I may also speak for Mr. Starkey. I only wish I could think that he gained one-tenth of valuable information from what I said that I did from what he said.

The proceedings then terminated.

SAMARIA: INTERIM REPORT ON THE WORK IN 1933.

By J. W. CROWFOOT, C.B.E., F.S.A.

We moved to Samaria towards the end of March, and the first excavation was started on April 1st. Professor and Mrs. Lake, Professor Blake, Dr. Sukenik, Miss Kenyon, Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Pinkerfeld and Mr. Reiss, are with us again. The new arrivals include three new students of the British School, Miss Murray, Miss de Crespigny and Mr. Inge, who have all been supervising different sections of the field work: Dr. Wein-Green of Trinity College, Dublin, and Mr. Hood, late Suffolk Regiment, who has been contouring the site among other duties. Mrs. Crowfoot has been again in charge of the registration section and Miss Joan Crowfoot of the clinic.

*The present campaign is the last campaign of the Joint Expedition, and the season's work has been planned on lines which were explained in a note published in the *Quarterly Statement* of July, 1932, pp. 134-138. Seven objectives were enumerated in this note: two of them entailed the complete excavation of more or less extended areas, the others were rather of the nature of soundings to determine particular problems in the ancient topography of the site. With one necessary exception for which a related substitute has been provided, all seven objectives have been tackled with a considerable measure of success. In the following interim report I have adhered to the order in which the different objectives were listed last year.*

I.—The East Side of the Palace Enclosure.

It will be remembered that the west end of the surrounding walls of the Israelite Palace enclosure or citadel was excavated long ago by the Harvard Expedition, and that in the two last seasons we have found a further section on the north side and a very much longer stretch on the south, but no trace yet of the eastern limit. The determination of the south east corner was, therefore, the first object to which we addressed ourselves. We turned naturally first to the last point reached on the south side in the previous season's work, and at this point we cleared down to the rock south and east and north east: due north we had

looked for the turn last year, though not under very satisfactory conditions. *In all three directions in which we looked this year we found that the rock had been quarried away, partly in Israelite days, partly later, and we concluded that it was impossible without a very formidable extension of our operations to discover along this line whether the wall turned or continued further to the east. We decided accordingly to abandon this section.*

Incidentally, however, one discovery of great interest was made in this field, a fragment in local stone from an Assyrian stele in Cuneiform characters. The greatest length of the inscribed face of the stone measures 17 cm. the greatest breadth 8 cm., and there are fragments of eight lines of writing on it. The fragment is too small to yield any intelligible sense. Mr. Sidney Smith to whom a photograph and hand copy have been submitted writes that "the only words extant complete are 1.2 'days,' 1.3 'begetter,' 1.4 'troops'—not much to seize on." It is definitely Assyrian and the date may be from Sargon II to Assur-Bani-Pal (720-650 B.C.) but might also be earlier. Tantalising as it is, the stone is of real importance as a fragment of the first considerable Assyrian stone inscription which has been found hitherto in Palestine.

On the opposite side of the summit better fortune awaited us. The rock appears to have fallen steeply away to the north here and clinging to the edge of the cliff at what is probably the north east corner of the citadel we found the remains of a great semi-circular tower, resembling in construction the round tower discovered by the Harvard Expedition at the south west corner of the summit (see Harvard Expedition, Text pp. 117, 118, Plates 28b, 29b, 30d, e; also Text p. 86 for what seemed to be a third round tower) and doubtfully attributed on grounds of general probability to the reign of Jeroboam II. The excavation of the north east tower is still incomplete, but the parts already uncovered are very much more extensive than those found by Reisner. The diameter of our semi-circle is about 13 metres long, the wall is over 2 metres thick, and parts of 15 courses have been found in position above the rock, averaging about 40 cm. each in height. It is incomparably the most impressive piece of early building which we have yet seen anywhere in Palestine, and in itself a very interesting example of early masonry. According to Fisher (l.c.) the wall of the south west tower was "two headers and one stretcher in thickness," and

"the blocks were not laid radially but slightly askew": our wall is generally three headers in thickness, most of the blocks taper a little towards the centre, and the stones in the parts which are visible are laid pointing just right of the centre in one course and just left of it in the next so as to secure the strongest bond possible in a wall built exclusively of headers. On the other face the stones were trimmed to form the circumference of a circle and bevelled with an adze at the joints on all four sides; there is only one example of a stone with the usual Israelite draft at present visible: *on the inside the tower was probably solid. On the south side of the tower there are two or three lines of late Israelite foundation walling visible but their relation to the tower is not quite clear; there are also extensive remains of the Hellenistic fort wall abutting on the tower in the same way as those found by Reisner and Fisher at the South west corner.*

All the work described in this section has been supervised by Miss Murray.

II.—The Summit.

The excavation of the ground on the summit between the walls has been continued again under the skilful direction of Miss Kenyon. By virtue of its position this area should be the most important on the site. It is also the only area on which a long succession of different strata can be distinguished, but it is a very difficult area to excavate because the strata have been cut through repeatedly by the foundations of later walls and these foundations have themselves been robbed in many cases to the very bottom.

On the face of the rock more potsherds of the Early Bronze Age have been found as well as extensive workings in the shape of pot holes, an olive press and some pit granaries with sunken ledges round the mouths, which may be referred to the same period: a comparison of the pottery with that from the finely stratified early station at Megiddo suggests that the settlement of Samaria belongs to one of the earlier phases of this age. Above this level at least two, and in places three, floors of occupation belonging to the Israelite period have been identified over a large part of the area, on the south side these appear to continue a great courtyard uncovered last year, the walls have all disappeared. Several tiny fragments of ivory have been found near the area of last year's find, but they are generally in worse condition, more charred

and broken into smaller fragments, than those found previously. The curious uniform belt of sticky chocolate-coloured soil which was seen in our first season's work (see Q.S., 1932, p. 17) extends much further to the east and south: the new evidence now available suggests that it belongs either to the Persian period or the very beginning of the Hellenistic age. Above this there are four or five well defined strata of occupation containing some structures which have been remodelled more than once.

III.—The Walls.

A series of soundings in the north east corner of the city, conducted by Mr. Inge, have enabled us to delimit the Roman city wall at this point more accurately: *three rectangular towers of the Herodian period probably were discovered*, and close to the mosque a fourth tower of the later period. *The line of the Roman wall apparently continued across the west end of the present mosque and through the modern village, leaving the Roman tomb in the mosque traditionally connected with St. John the Baptist and the mausoleum described by Fisher (H.E. p. 220) outside the city confines.*

To the north west of the city another rectangular Herodian tower was uncovered, and several soundings have been made on inner lines in search of the north Israelite and later pre-Roman city walls, but hitherto without much success.

IV.—The Columned Street.

Excavations have been made in two places on the line of the columned street, which runs along the south side of the main ridge. *Towards the west end the roadway between the colonnades is about 16 metres wide, further east it narrows slightly, and on either side there was a footway from 3 to 4 metres wide.* Our predecessors made two soundings in this street: in one of these on the axis of the temple they found two apsidal rooms on the north side of the street, in the other which was much nearer to the west gate they found traces of the stylobate on which the columns rested. One of our excavations, supervised by Miss de Crespigny, was made some 60 metres east of the more considerable of their works and a little east of a change in the direction of the street. At this point we found remains of apsidal rooms about 4 metres wide similar to those

described by Fisher : only one was cleared as the accumulation is very heavy, it dates from the 3rd century A.D. at earliest and has been subsequently repaired : one of the door jambs was moulded, the other having been replaced during the repairs ; a moulded fragment, which can hardly be earlier than the time of Commodus, was built into one of the walls : the room was originally roofed with a heavy stone vault : a fragment of a stylobate or eury was left in front of this room but the columns have disappeared. On the south side of the street two rectangular rooms, m. 4×4.6 , were cleared ; each of these rooms was entered from the street through a door with moulded jambs exactly like the original jamb on the north side ; one of the rooms had remains of an internal arch to reduce the span to be roofed, and there was a doorway in the partition wall between the two rooms ; the walls were partly hewn out of the rock, and blocks of fallen mosaic showed that there had been a second story. One column was standing at this point, but there was no stylobate, the plinth below the base resting directly on the rock. *This quarter was evidently the business quarter of the town with rows of shops on both sides of the street like the shops in a modern Oriental bazaar but laid out in a more elaborate and more uniform style. The rock on the north side is nearly a metre below the floor level : on the south side in the walls it rises nearly as much above the floor. It is evident therefore that the construction of the street was a considerable engineering task : the rock on the south side was levelled down for at least a metre, on the north side the cliff was cut back and buttressed with a stout retaining wall to prevent walls from above, the choice of an apsidal plan having been doubtless dictated as being the plan best calculated to resist pressure from above.*

Quite close to the west gate the north side of the street was touched in an excavation undertaken by Miss Murray to discover whether a second street branched off from this towards the north east. There was certainly a road along the north side of the hill and if it was brought round to the west gate this is the point at which it should have forked from the main street, but no sign of it was found. Beneath the street a fragment of Israelite building and some Israelite potsherds came to light just above the rock : it was clear that the street itself had been made up seven or eight times but the north stylobate had disappeared and parts of the columns were found in later walls.

North of the street there was a row of small rooms above the rock which are pre-Roman in date and may belong to barracks for a detachment guarding the west gate, but the most important find was a *late Roman building which we believe to have been a small shrine. A broad paved area seems to have led from the street to a flight of steps which gave access to a tiny forecourt, m. 4.7×2.2 , leading into a tiny cellar of similar dimensions; east and west of this building and on the same level as the lower pavement there are shallow sunken trenches bordered on either side with moulded flag stones: they cannot have contained water as there is no sign of plaster and it has been suggested with some probability that they may have been flower beds. The whole construction was very carefully built in the late Roman style which we associate with the period of the Syrian dynasty: it is to the best of our knowledge unique in plan and it is peculiarly deplorable that there should be no inscription to tell us more about it.*

V.—*The Theatre.*

The site on the north side of the hill about mid way between the Forum and the Augusteum, to which reference was made last year has been explored and the position of the theatre which we hoped to find here satisfactorily determined. There are several fruit trees on the hill side and the accumulation of soil is considerable. Operations were accordingly limited to running wide trenches from north to south with lateral extensions where the remains found in the main trenches rendered this course advisable. *Part of the paving of the orchestra, including the central slabs, was found still in position. Parts also of the five lower rows of seats in the auditorium with parts of two flights of steps and a large section of the wall of the diazoma have survived in the area which we excavated. Besides these there are a great many carved fragments from the buildings connected with the stage, but only a small part of the lowest course is in situ at the east end—the west side has not been investigated. The line of the back wall of the auditorium is uncertain at present.*

The orchestra in plan is not unlike those at Shuhba and Bosra, published by Brunnow (*Die Provincia Arabia*, Vol. III, Pl. 4, l.v); it is a semicircle on a diameter measuring 10.6 metres with a straight extension to the proscenium 2.5 metres long. In the auditorium there were 14 rows of seats below the diazoma and from eight to

ten above it; the rows below the diazoma were divided into seven cunei by six flights of steps which were apparently carried on above the diazoma. The seats themselves were flat on the top and decorated in front with a great cyma reversa which swept from top to bottom; those by the steps had an arm, and the top row below the diazoma had backs. Too little remains to enable us to reconstruct the stage buildings even in plan, but the architectural remains suggest that the back wall was in three stories: these remains are massive, but the execution of the traditional Roman ornaments is rough and irregular, they cannot be earlier than the third century A.D.: a row of heavy slabs, three concave and four straight, which apparently came from the wall of the proscenium, were decorated with simple designs—a pelta, rectangles, and lozenges with curved sides, in a style suggestive of plaster work which seems to foreshadow some well known Byzantine reliefs. Five carved blocks and one seat which came originally from the theatre have been identified in different parts of the village.

Much credit is due to Mr. Pinkerfeld for working out the details of this building and to Mr. Buchanan for recognising its position; the discovery, of course, made it superfluous to examine further the alternative site proposed by our predecessors.

VI.—*The Water Supply.*

Work in the Forum-Threshing floor is impossible at this season in the year, but some interesting discoveries which are connected with the water conduit found under the Forum in 1931 (Q.S., 1932, p. 69) were made on the hill sides east and south of Samaria. On the hill north east of Nakura from which the present water supply of Sebastiya is derived there are the remains of a built subterranean aqueduct leading to two springs. This aqueduct runs through the middle of an early underground church, the water channel actually passing between the apse and the nave. The church no doubt has taken the place of an earlier pagan temple, and there are ruins nearby called Khirbat Miamas, a name which naturally suggests Maiumas: the springs are called Ain Harun.

From this spot the line of a water channel has been traced by Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Inge, following a devious course round the hills past the village of Ginsinia to a point on the ridge opposite to the Mosque

in Sebastiya. A second channel which comes from a spring in Ginsinia, also approached by a built subterranean aqueduct, has been traced to the same point, and there are reports of a third conduit which comes over the hills from Nablus to Nakura. Between the last point where any channel can be found and the Forum there is a valley more than 160 feet deep, which must have been crossed either by an arched aqueduct or by a subterranean siphon. The foundations of a building which may have formed part of an aqueduct have been found on the hill east of Sebastiya pointing directly towards the conduit in the Forum, and, though all other trace of the aqueduct may have disappeared, there can be little doubt that one must formerly have existed. At the height of its prosperity, that is in the third century of our era, Roman Sebaste was well provided with water from several distant springs in much the same way as Roman Elia.

VII.—Tombs.

In the tomb area we have continued the clearance of the great rock trench in which the more important ostraca published by Dr. Sukenik in the July number of the *Quarterly Statement* were found. A section of this some five metres long, 4.5 wide and 4.5 deep, has been removed in layers each about 50 cm. high in the hope of finding differences between successive deposits, but this hope has not been realised so far as can be seen at present. Some new pot shapes have been recovered besides five more ostraca, four of them in Hebrew characters and one of them inscribed with what seem to be four early Greek letters: Dr. Sukenik tells me that one of the Hebrew ostraca contains the name *Yoyesha* which is a parallel form to the name *Isaiah*, and that another reads, *Blessed be Ahaziah*.

June 7th, 1933.

NOTE: Through an oversight the MS. was sent to press with the passages underlined which the Hon. Sec. read at the Annual Meeting. The printers supposed that these were to be printed in italics.

ISRAEL IN THE ARABAH.

BY CANON W. J. PHYTHIAN-ADAMS.

The deep rift of the Arabah which links the Dead Sea with the Gulf of Akaha enters the full light of Biblical history for the first time in the reign of Solomon. "*And King Solomon made a navy of ships in Ezion-geber which is beside Eloth, on the shore of the Yam Suph in the land of Edom*" (1 Kings 9, 26). It is true that this harbour lies at the southernmost extremity of the rift and that it would have been possible for the Israelite caravans to have avoided the passage through it on their way to and from Jerusalem; yet there are indications that at one period at least the whole extent of the Arabah was in Israelite hands, and the indirect inferences which may be drawn from this are of considerable interest to the student of Israelite tradition.

1. The exact location of the port of Ezion-geber may be regarded as known. It is to be found not at Ain Ghadian¹ but at El Meniyyeh approximately half-way between the Ain and the head of the Gulf. The place has been described by Dr. Musil, who visited it in 1902. The guide told him that a town had once stood in the *wady* of that name, the inhabitants of which possessed a very large navy. They had, however, offended Allah and, as a result, there descended on them a long and torrential downpour of rain which choked with boulders not only the *wady* but the gulf itself, destroying the city and causing the Red Sea to retreat to its present level.² There seems to be a reasonably clear reminiscence in this story of how the ships of Jehoshaphat were "*broken at Ezion-geber*" (1 Kings 22, 48) and the port transferred by Uzziah to Elath or Eloth, near the present Akaha (2 Kings 14, 22). Mr. George Horsfield, who recently visited el Meniyyeh, has informed the present writer that the remains of a citadel are clearly visible there and that, in addition to this,

¹ "Solomon's great seaport must surely have measured more than fifty yards each way, and it would strain the Indian Ocean to bring it two hundred feet uphill."—*P.E.F. Annual*, 1914-1915, p. 13. El Meniyyeh is about 10 miles from the present head of the Gulf, an arm of which seems once to have reached it.

² A Musil, *Edom*, Vienna; 1908, II, p. 187.

the *wady* contains the remains of slag-heaps such as are to be found at the northern end of the Arabah at the copper-workings of En Nahas and Fenan.³ Since we have no knowledge of any hint an Israelite occupation of Ezion-geber, and that not a long one, it may be assumed without great daring that these traces of a mining industry were associated with the Ophir expeditions of Solomon and that, in fact, the copper-resources of the Arabah were traded by his merchants for the gold and ivory of less civilised lands.

It may be pointed out, in passing, that some such hypothesis as this is in any case desiderated, if we are to account satisfactorily for the wealth amassed by Solomon. Even if the traditional accounts of it are grossly exaggerated, they cannot be wholly without substance and it cannot be said that so far they have been adequately explained. Palestine itself possesses no mineral resources and its agricultural produce though carefully organised was barely sufficient for the needs of the king's court (1 Kings 4, 7-19). It has been suggested that Solomon "made his money" by acting as middleman between Egypt and the Hittite and Aramaean kingdoms, and that he enriched himself further by taxing heavily the Arabian spice-caravans which passed through his territory. All this may be true up to a point, yet the hard law of economics—that you cannot get something for nothing—obliges us to look elsewhere for the real origin of his fabulous wealth. His famous expeditions from Ezion-geber must have carried with them *something* valuable which they could use for barter, and it would seem reasonable to suppose that this "*something*" included at least the copper-ore of the Arabah, whether "in the raw" or in the form of manufactured articles. Nor was this the only use to which Solomon could put the metal. A vast quantity of it was also needed for the temple vessels and we are told that these were cast in the Jordan valley "in the clay ground between Succoth and Zarethan (1 Kings 7, 46). The choice of site may have been due to the proximity of the rich wood-supply which the forests of Gilead afforded, but if the copper itself was mined at Fenan (Punon) and En Nahas and transported thence by way of the Dead Sea, the Jordan valley was obviously the most convenient place in which the casting could be carried out. (Gilead itself, though it shows

³ G.H. 1932.

traces of ancient iron-working, has so far revealed no signs of copper, so that we are precluded from seeking the origin of the metal from thence).⁴

If this argument is allowed a certain plausibility, it may be permitted to develop itself further. For the possession of the copper-mines of the Arabah by Israel certain indispensable preliminaries had to be performed. In other words, the approaches to the Arabah had to be secured by pacific or belligerent means and the inhabitants of the actual sites and their environment had to be reduced to submission. To put it more briefly, the Amalekites, the Kenites and the Edomites had first to be dealt with. But these peoples come first into view with the campaigns of Saul and his successor David, and the suspicion very naturally arises that the value of the copper-mines of the Arabah was well-known to Israel even before the reign of Solomon. Is it not, in fact, possible that the whole trend of Israelite strategy from the days of the Philistine oppression onwards was to obtain possession of this rift-valley which contained the only mineral resources within reasonable reach? We may go further. The legendary friendship of the Kenites and Israelites immediately after the Exodus may or may not have a historical basis. What, however, seems to be quite certain is that the legend itself would never have survived at all unless the Kenites had been at *some* historical period in a position to help or to hinder the interests of Israel. The word *Keni* or *Kenite* means "smith" in Aramaic and it was long ago suggested by Sayce that the people who bore it were travelling metal workers who may have provided Israel with the weapons which the Philistines denied them.⁵ This view has been recently doubted,⁶ but it would be considerably reinforced if it could be shown that the Kenites were not merely coppersmiths but *actually* possessors of the district from which the metal was mined. Although parties of them seem to have moved up into the Negev and even found their way into the plain of Esdraelon, their connection with the Edomite clan of Kenaz (Gen. 15, 19) indicates what must have been their real home-land. This is borne out by the punning "proverb" of Num. 24, 21, which has been converted into a prophecy

⁴ G.H. 1932.

⁵ H.D.B., II, 834, s.v. Kenites.

⁶ cf. Lods, *Israel*, 1932, pp. 205-6, 318.

and put into the mouth of Balaam. If we examine this verse closely, we find that it yields precise and important information. Its date, to begin with, may be assigned to the last years of the reign of Saul, since the association of the Kenites with the Amalekites in Num. 24, 20-21 has its historical counterpart in that period only (1 Sam. 15, 6). The annihilation of Amalek is, in fact, celebrated in the preceding verse, not as a prophecy (though it is capable by its vagueness of being treated as one and, as it stands in its present context, has this meaning forced upon it) but as a historical event which is hailed with savage jubilation. "*First of nations (is or was) Amalek but his last (is or was) unto destruction*" is simply an ironic word-play upon what must have been a well-known Amalekite boast: it is a taunt, the very zest of which is hot with the flush of victory. When we turn to the "proverb" upon the Kenites which is closely linked with it, we find, *mutatis mutandis*, a marked resemblance. While the tone here is, as might be expected, friendly there is the same punning humour as in the saying on Amalek; and, if we ignore the concluding couplet which seems to have been added at a much later date (*cf.* the ref. to Asshur) to turn it into a prophecy, the same terse and pithy compression. Translated literally the verse runs:—"Everflowing (is) thy habitation and set in the Crag (Sela) thy Nest (Ken)." The point of the "proverb" is of course quite clear: it is to congratulate the Kenites on the excellencies of their strong-hold. The pun on Ken and Kenite in the second line is equally obvious, but what is the meaning of the riddle in the first? The usual answer is to deny that there is a riddle at all and to assume that the word אֵיתָן is to be understood metaphorically and translated "strong" or "ever-during." But this is surely to miss the whole spirit of the "proverb," every term in which must be intended to be taken literally. Now the literal meaning of אֵיתָן ("ever-flowing") has a very real significance for Palestinians to whom the possession of a perennial spring is a treasure to be highly prized. Such a stream was even regarded as specially sacro-sanct (Dt. 21, 4) and the prophet Amos sees in it a fit simile for that continual outpouring of righteousness which Jahweh desires from His people (Am. 5, 24). It may be assumed then, that the Kenite stronghold was distinguished in some marked manner by the character of its ever-flowing water-supply, while

it also possessed a citadel perched (we may suppose impreguably) on a Crag (Sela). The old identification of the Edomite Sela with Petra rushes at this point irresistibly into the mind, and it may be said, by anticipation, that all the evidence seems in its favour. Here it must suffice to point out how exactly the Kenite proverb fits the site. In Petra we have on the one hand a "habitation" the whole character of which has been created and determined by its ever-flowing stream, and, on the other, in the heart of this extraordinary city, an impregnable citadel perched like an eagle's nest on a bare crag and defended on all sides by lofty precipices.⁷ We have, in short, not merely a locality which entirely satisfies the description but one whose very peculiarities lend themselves most readily to this type of riddling proverb.

The identification of the old Kenite stronghold with the Edomite Sela and of Sela with Petra, may go far to explain the importance of the Kenite alliance for Israel during the reigns of David and Solomon. A glance at the map will show that Petra is the key-position of the entire Arabah. It dominates both the copper mine area of En Nahas and Fenan to the north and the approaches to the Gulf of Akaba on the south. With the inhabitants of this stronghold not merely neutral but friendly, the chief obstacle to the ambitions of Israel was removed. It remained, in fact, only to subjugate the remainder of Edom, and this was carried out under David's orders with a ferocity which would be unintelligible if the end in view had been simply political domination (2 Sam. 8, 13; 1 Kings 11, 15). It is interesting to notice how in some respects the history of Israel's struggles for the Arabah tended to repeat itself. The first decisive victory over Edom was won by David (2 Sam. 8, 13) or by Ahisbai (1 Chron. 18, 12) in the Valley of Salt, which may be the present Es-Sebha at the south end of the Dead Sea. If as we are assuming, Sela was at this time in friendly hands, the way then lay open to the gulf. Certainly the establishment by Solomon of his port at Ezion-geber seems to have followed without further fighting in the Arabah. A century later Israel was not so fortunate. In the reign of Jehoram Edom successfully revolted, and the Arabah was lost. It was recovered temporarily by Amaziah,

⁷ The citadel of Petra is called to-day El-Habis. Its summit lies 600 feet above the level of the Wady Musa. It is completely isolated and accessible only by rock-cut steps.

who won, like David, a great victory in the Valley of Salt, but was forced, in addition, to capture Sela (2 Kings 14, 7), which this time was in enemy hands. This was apparently the first, as it was certainly the last, time that Petra was an Israelite possession, and the achievement was duly celebrated by Amaziah, who gave it the new name of Joktheel. The fruits of his able generalship were gathered by his son Uzziah, precisely as those of David's Edomite wars were reaped by Solomon. But Ezion-geber had long since ceased to exist as a harbour, and the new port on the Gulf of Akaba was established at Elath. It was a short-lived venture, for Elath was regained by the Edomites in the reign of Uzziah's grandson (2 Kings 16, 6), and Judah was never again strong enough to challenge its ancient enemy. Yet it remains a remarkable fact that for two periods in its history, from David to Jehoshaphat, and again from Uzziah to Ahaz, the Arabah was in the hands of Israel, and might even be reckoned as Israelite territory.

2. But *was* it actually so reckoned? There is evidence that it was. First, there is the curious and apparently baseless reference in *Deuteronomy* to certain hills in the Land of Promise from which Israel would be able to "dig brass" (Deut. 8, 9). Now it appears to be certain that no part of the Israelite territory proper contained this ore, so that the "prophecy" must refer to the mines of the Arabah. It must, in fact, have been well known both to the writer and to his readers that at some period Israel was in the possession of these copper mines, and it must, further, have been possible to allude to them as *lying within the borders of the Nation's territory*. In other words, it must have been possible to claim the Arabah as belonging to Israel, and to exclude it, in consequence, from the territory of Edom. Theoretically, it is by no means difficult to do this. With the exception of Petra itself, the chief towns of Edom lay high up either on the summit of the great limestone plateau or on the lofty spurs which jut out from it towards the west. If a line is roughly drawn southwards from the south-east end of the Dead Sea, through En-Nahas, Fenan and Petra to Akaba, it will be found that no ancient Edomite settlement of any importance is left to the west of it. But we are not confined to theory. In Judges 1, 36, the border of the Edomites⁸ is laid down along this

⁸ cf. Burney, *Judges*, p. 33, note. The reading "Amorites" is unintelligible.

very line! It was "from the ascent of Akrabhim from the Crag (Sela) and upwards." The ascent of Akrabhim has been identified with various routes on the west edge of the Arabah, in spite of the fact that it still exists under the same name to-day near the south-east end of the Lisan! At a point where a very ancient road climbs tortuously up from the shores of the Dead Sea to the village of Kethrabbe, there lie the ruins of Umm el Akareb. The name means "scorpion" in both Hebrew and Arabic, and the identity of the two is hardly open to dispute. It will become clearer later on why so northerly a point was chosen for determining the Edomite border. The other extremity of this line is at Sela (Petra) itself and it is stated that everything "upward," i.e., eastwards up the slopes of the plateau between these two points, belonged to Edom, the unwritten but obvious inference being, of course, that everything "downwards," or westwards, from it belonged to Israel.

But this is by no means all. The southern border of Israel (as laid down in Num. 34, 3 ff), follows the same line: "Your south quarter (corner) shall be from the wilderness of Zin along by the side of Edom, and your south border shall be from the end of the Salt Sea eastward; and your border shall turn about southward of the ascent of Akrabhim, and pass along to Zin; and the going out thereof shall be southward of Kadesh-barnea; and it shall go forth to Hazar-addar, and pass along to Azmon; and the border shall turn about from Azmon unto the hook of Egypt, and the goings out thereof shall be at the Sea." (The description of the south border of Judah in Joshua 15, 3 ff, follows this account closely, but it substitutes Hezron and Addar (two places) for Hazar-Addar, and appears in some respect to be later and less reliable.)

With the help of the clue given in Judges 1, 36, it is not difficult to give this description a very real precision. It starts with the general proposition that the south border of Israel was not one which ran simply from east to west, but formed a "corner," one side of which went "along by the side of Edom." Actually, it began at the end of the Salt Sea and ran *eastward* to the ascent of Akrabhim. There it "turned about" (ran southwards) to Kadesh-barnea through the wilderness or pasture land of Zin. Thence it "went forth" (i.e., there was some change of direction) to Hazar-Addar, "passed along" (went direct) to Azmon, and "turned about"

(swung north) from there to the brook of Egypt, which it followed to the Mediterranean. The double place-name Hazar-addar is unknown, but as the form Hezron appears in the parallel passage in *Joshua*, it is not impossible that the original reading was Ezion-geher, which became corrupted when the port went out of existence and its name ceased to be familiar. Be this as it may, the line of the border "along by the side of Edom" is very obviously the same as that described in *Judges*, and as there is no other important point on it but Petra, it seems to follow that we must accept the equation Sela-Petra-Kadesh-barnea. It may be thought both rash and idle to re-open the old and much-debated problem which centres round this last name, but the time would seem to be ripe. As a matter of fact, there is no need to re-open it, for the question re-opened itself almost automatically from the moment when it was found that Trumhull's exuberant description of Ain Kadeis was not merely over-coloured, but wholly imaginative.⁹ But it gaped (if we may so express it) to its fullest extent when Lawrence (who may be credited with a more than adequate knowledge of Arabia, even in those pre-war days!) flatly refused to accept the name Kadeis as having any reference to "holiness," and asserted that what it really means is "a wooden scoop or hailer used for lifting water from a shallow well"!¹⁰ After this it is really quite useless to resort to the desperate expedient of shifting the original "Kadesh" to Ain Guderat simply because that stream seems more fitted to represent it. It is wiser to face the truth, and the truth is that we have not got one particle of evidence that there ever was any spring called "Holy" in the Negeh at all. We are back precisely where we were before Rowland's fateful discovery. In other words, we are back in the Ararah. No one before Rowlands made any serious effort to look for Kadesh-barnea elsewhere, and there was no reason why anybody should. The Biblical evidence, when dispassionately examined, points too clearly in that direction for there to be any serious doubt. We have only to consider the list of halting-places in Num. 33, 36-44 to see that this is conclusive as far at least as Solomonian tradition is concerned. The stations in question are apparently laid out as leading, perhaps in a roundabout way, from somewhere in the Sinai

⁹ cf. P.E.F. Annual, 1914-1915, p. 52 f.

¹⁰ *Ib.*, p. 53.

Peninsula. (It is possible, as it seems now to the present writer, that the identification of the Mount of God with one of the mountains on this peninsula took its rise during the period of the Ophir expeditions, when many Israelites must have become familiar with its imposing *massif*, if only from a distance).¹¹ The earlier stations (after Sinai) are all of them unknown, with the exception, perhaps, of Hor-haggidgad (Gudgodah, Deut. 10, 7), which, *pâce* all etymological objections urged against it, does singularly suggest the modern Wady Khadakhad, somewhat to the north of El Kuntilla. In verse 36, however, we find Ezion-geher (which dates the list), the next station to which is "the wilderness of Zin (the same is Kadesh)." After this comes Mt. Hor "in the edge of the land of Edom": then an unknown Zalmonah; then Punon (Fenan), then Oboth (unknown), then Iye-aharim "in the border of Moab." The route is conceived, in other words, as descending into the Arabah at Ezion-geher (El Meniyyeh) and then making north-eastwards across it towards the "border of Moab" by way of the "edge of Edom." If, as we have supposed, the "wilderness" of Zin was the region lying round Fenan and En Nahas, then Kadesh, which is regarded as identical with it, must be close at hand. But we have already seen that Kadesh can be equated with Sela-Petra, and we have suggested that the old Israelite border may have crossed the Arabah from Sela to Ezion-geber. The two lines of argument seem, therefore, to converge, and here we may join them with a third. The extraordinary character of Petra has already been mentioned, and is too familiar to require description here. It need only be noted that the long, narrow chasm of the Sik, through which the Wady Musa

¹¹ But it is perhaps worth while suggesting that Solomon may have attempted to work the copper and turquoise mines there as well as the mines in the Arabah. In I Kings 9, 18 he is said to have built "Baalath and Tamar in the wilderness in the land." The last words are quite meaningless, and Böttcher proposed by a simple emendation to read "in the wilderness of Parau" (cf. Burnoy. Notes on Hebrew Text of the Book of Kings, 1903, p. 138). If Parau is Feiran, then Tamar might be the modern port of Tor, and Baalath the famous inland mining-camp of the Lady of the Turquoise, the "Baalat" of the Sinaitic inscriptions. If the reading of Seirite names in these is correct, the connection between the two mining areas may date back to very ancient times. The knowledge of the Sinai mines would certainly be available to Solomon, for the last Pharaoh to work them was Rameses IV (c. 1160). It is a point worth considering whether the Mosaic traditions of the peninsula may not have arisen first, with those of Petra, during the "Augustan age" of Solomon and his immediate successors and from the same cause.

has cut its way, suggests very naturally the action of some heroic or divine personage, who, in releasing the "ever-flowing" current from the rock by the stroke of his wand, has left in this remarkable cleft an abiding evidence of his superhuman strength. Have we been altogether wise in assuming that the Mosaic legends which have attached themselves to Petra are all of them necessarily of late origin? Is it not just as likely that they date from the Solomonic era when the Sik was still in friendly hands, and the great High Places were still called Kadesh-barnea? Before deciding too hastily against this view, we shall remember that the rabbinical writings would appear to give it very strong support, since they identify Kadesh-barnea with Rekem or Rekem-giah (and this, again, with Petra), and it is difficult to understand how they can have come by this tradition unless it had originated in the years when Israel held, and was interested in, the Arabah.

One further point (it has already been referred to) requires to be briefly treated. Why was the starting point of Israel's southern border fixed at a point so far north of the south-east end of the Dead Sea as the ascent of Akrabbim? The answer, a very simple one, has been supplied, indirectly, by Albright: "The shallow southern basin of the Dead Sea has been encroaching on its shores steadily for the past century, during which its area has been increased fully one-third, according to the best calculations".¹² It is true that we cannot estimate from this the exact limits of the Dead Sea in the 10th century B.C., but since these must have been considerably north of the present line, it is hardly rash to assume that the ascent of Umm el Akarch approximately marks the point. It is scarcely necessary to add that this boundary bears no relation to the historical conditions prevailing in the time of the Judges. The sanction of the centuries which has been cast over it may indeed rest upon a basis of fact, for the traditional friendship of the Kenites is hardly explicable as a piece of pure mythology. But the boundary itself is the creation of a much later age, when Amalek, Moab and Edom had fallen before the fierce assaults of Saul and David, and Israel could pride itself on at last possessing the Arabah.

¹² W. F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*, 1932, p. 135.

MOUNT HOR.

BY CAMERON M. MACKAY.

THE identification of Mount Hor, the coastal landmark of Palestine's northern frontier in Numbers xxxiv, 7, is one of the vexed questions of biblical topography. As it is *hapax legomenon*, not recognised by the Septuagint as a proper name, and perhaps to be interpreted "the swell of the mountain", while other indices of the frontier leave the locus in dispute, Mount Hor is understood by recent authorities variously as the north or south rise of Lebanon, a hundred miles apart; Jewish tradition has placed it almost as far north as Asia Minor.

Access to Hittite archives and recent discoveries at Byblus have, however, thrown such additional light on conditions in the Lebanon at the period of Israel's entrance (c. 1407 B.C. onward, Garstang) that it now seems possible to link events together so as to recognise Mount Hor with reasonable certainty. From the Amarna letters it was known that an Amorite line of chieftains was at that time (Amenhotep III and IV, c. 1411-1358 B.C.) pushing its claims in the Lebanon and environs, bent on carving out a kingdom as Egypt's grip on Syria relaxed with the Hittite advance from the north. In Joshua xiii, 4, "the border of the Amorites" is given as index of the ideal frontier not attained by Joshua. There being no evident reason why a redactor should drag in a forgotten Amorite border, it follows that the established boundary of the Amorite state of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries corresponded to Mount Hor.

Hittite records show that the Amorite chieftain Aziru, who in the Amarna letters appears as a wavering vassal of Egypt, was granted a treaty by the Hittite king Shubhiliuluma (c. 1400-1355 B.C., Garstang; c. 1385 B.C., Hrozný) confirming him—that is, confining him—in his ancestral boundaries as a Hittite vassal. Till the time of Rameses II (c. 1292-1225 B.C.) the border of Amor remained constant,¹ the same terms being granted by the Hittites to Aziru's

¹ For Amorite-Hittite relations, see Olmstead, *History of Palestine And Syria* (1931), pp. 181 ff., 219 ff.; cf. *Cambridge Ancient History* (1924), II, pp. 263 f., 302, 318 ff. The Egyptian dates quoted are Breasted's.

grandson and later to Bentishina, the Amorite chieftain who, after defection to Egypt, was captured by the Hittites, but restored to his principality circa 1285 B.C. in the new and useful capacity of son-in-law to the Hittite king Hattushil.

It was during the period of Bentishina's transference of allegiance to Egypt, and with the Amorites enlisted beneath his banner, that Rameses II, marching northward against the Hittites to restore Egyptian suzerainty in Syria, carved at the Dog River, five miles north of Beirut and at the centre alike of Lebanon and the Syrian coast, the first of his three much-debated stelæ. "They of course," says Dr. Breasted (*Ancient Records*, III, p. 125), "mark the advance boundary of Rameses II's northern conquests." One is of his fourth year, the year before the battle of Kadesh (c. 1288 B.C.), at which Bentishina fought for him. It is a natural deduction that these stelæ indicate Rameses' claims in Syria; how far the event justified these claims is another question, not affecting the point that the Pharaoh, in his anticipatory numbering of his chickens, would hardly fail to count among them the Amorite buffer-state which, after a period of defection, had returned to southern allegiance.

That the stelæ do not claim more than the Amorite bounds in the Lebanon valley their position opposite its centre makes definite: the question is whether they claim less. If we accept the testimony of Herodotus, a fifth century B.C. eye-witness, that they conveyed that the subject districts were effeminate and had submitted tamely (II, 102, 106), and relate it to the usual inference that at least one of the indecipherable tablets was hewn during the continuation of the war after the Amorite prince's rather ignominious matrimonial adventure, it becomes psychologically apt to see in Rameses' repetition of his claims a retort to this stroke of Hittite diplomacy, with pointed application to the bounds of Bentishina.

The position of the stelæ was not inspired by Egypt's claims on the coast. They are cut at the north end of the mile-long pass or shelf, in the sea-face, where the rock-hewn way descends abruptly from a height of over a hundred feet into the chasm of the Dog River. Regarding only natural conditions, this was an admirable strategic frontier for a southern empire; but if the Dog River was Rameses' limit of ambition, some explanation of his restraint is required from the political viewpoint. Gebal, the coastal state

which, in the Amarna letters and Assyrian inscriptions, holds the shore from Beirut to north of its capital at Byblus (Jebeil), eighteen miles distant—necessarily for its own safety controlling the Dog River pass—was thus cut in two by the Egyptian line. Gebal was an ancient vassal of Egypt, and at Jebeil the tomb of a contemporary king, certified so by cartouches of Rameses II, has the Egyptian administrative title, "Count of Kupna," engraved in hieroglyphic amid the Phœnician lettering²: the evident ability of Rameses, though compelled to conduct later campaigns south of the Lebanon, to continue to carve his claims at the Dog River, also implies that Gebal was sympathetic. The political situation on the coast would thus have been more properly represented by tablets to the north of Jebeil, and the Dog River pass none the less secured, so that something more than its strategic value must have prompted the stelæ in its rocks—a point borne out by the fact that six Assyrian conquerors, coming from the north, yet chose to carve their reliefs beside Rameses' at the north end.

The interior line which the stelæ claim is the main Syrian watershed, the Baalbek versant between the Orontes and Litany faces of the Lebanon valley, a natural and continuously recognised boundary. Properly el-Bika', the Arab name of the Lebanon valley, belongs only to its southern half, el-Bika' el-'Aziz (the Dear Bika'), the northern or Orontes section being Belad (District) Baalbek; last century the boundary between the two was recognised as running from Baalbek S.W. by W. to Zahleh, that is, athwart the Dog River parallel. Similarly, in Roman times, Coele-Syria Proper was the Litany valley only, and the kingdom of Chalcis which occupied it was bounded to the north by the territory of the Roman colony at Beirut, *Julia Felix*, which reached to the Orontes sources (Strabo, 16.2.19), and so to the sister-colony at Baalbek, *Julia Heliopolitana*. Under Assyria and Babylon, Berothah, most usually identified with Bereitan, four miles S.S.W. from Baalbek, and in the latitude of the Dog River, marked the south border of Hamath (Ezek. xlvii, 16-17).

In Rameses' time Kadesh (Tell Neby Mindu) in the north mouth of the Lebanon valley was a Hittite stronghold. In Aziru's time the Kadesh chieftain, Aitagama, had acted independently of Aziru, allying himself openly with the Hittites prior to the Amorite chieftain,

² Olmstead, *op. cit.*, p. 240; cf. *Encyc. Brit.*, 14th ed. (1929), art. *Jebeil*.

and, in the latter's old age, rebelling against the Hittite overlord while Azirû remained loyal. The prescriptive territory of Amor, therefore, did not include Kadesh, whose domains would certainly reach some way up the Orontes face of the Lebanon valley, and most naturally extend to the watershed.

To the psychological argument that Rameses would hardly do less than claim Bentishina's border is thus added the geographical one that he was claiming an obvious and important boundary in the Lebanon valley, from which it would require some nicety of discrimination to dissociate the Amorite. Allow any authority to the evidence of Joshua xiii, 4-5, that the ideal frontier of Israel, equivalent to the Amorite border, lay "Aphék-ward," comprising "even that district of the Giblites, and all Lebanon on the east from Baal-gad under Mount Hermon unto the entering-in of Hamath," and, since these terms give no alternative to the identification of Aphék with Aphaca, modern Afka, on the headwaters of the Adonis, and six miles north of the Dog River parallel, the attestation of the Egyptian tablets to the Amorite border is clinched. "That district of the Gebalites"—for with such definitive force the presence of the Hebrew article is justified—is then the region of the Dog River pass, the shore around the sea-roots of Jehel Sannin, from which the Phœnician name Gebal, in root "boundary," then "mountain-boundary," then "mountain," Arabic *jebel*, must have originated rather than from the district of Jebeil, "little mountain."

The true significance of the Dog River tablets is in fact obscured by that nomenclature; the river, issuing for a six-mile course from mile-long caverns under Sannin, is but a detail in the great barrier-root which Lebanon here thrusts into the sea; it is the mountain, not the river, which makes the pass—the mountain which was both a coastal barrier and crest of the Syrian watershed. The Assyrians, who left their stela there, so recognise it; Shalmaneser III records that on an expedition against Damascus he marched to leave his "royal image" at the "summit-mountain which is a headland of the sea"; Sennacherib boasts, "I am come up to the height of the mountains, the innermost parts of Lebanon . . . the height of his end-in-space" (Is. xxxvii, 24). It is "the mountains overhanging the Lycus River" which Caracalla's inscription at the pass proclaims he cut.

The stelæ of Rameses, opposite the summit of Sannin and at the strategic point of its sea-root, mark the central and watershed crest which the Pharaoh and Moses might very naturally agree in viewing as the proper limit for a South Syrian power; and, if the above argument has force, mark it primarily as index of the Amorite-Hittite border which Israel also claimed as theirs. The conclusion that Sannin was Mount Hor can hardly be upset by any addition to knowledge. Sannin could well be called "the swell of the mountain," for it is the limit of Lebanon's skyline from Palestine, the crest of its forty-mile swell before it sinks to the Adonis valley and Afka; till aneroid measurements were taken it was generally regarded as the highest peak of Lebanon, and Vulgate translates "*montem altissimum*."

The exact definition of the west-east section of Israel's north border is, "From the Great Sea ye shall mark out for you Hor the mountain; from Hor the mountain ye shall mark out the entering-in of Hamath; and the outgoings of the border shall be Zedad-ward" (Num. xxxiv, 7-8). The entering-in of Hamath (which district certainly extended south of Riblah in the north Lebanon valley) is thus the immemorial entrance to the Lebanon valley, and so to Hamath, along the Beirut-Baalbek route. This road, running N.E. by E. by the east flank of Sannin, and across the valley to Baalbek, after which it turns N.N.E., no longer serviceable as a boundary, gives an outgoing for the border across Anti-Lebanon from Baalbek which is precisely Zedad-ward, that is, toward modern Sadad.

INSCRIBED HEBREW AND ARAMAIC POTSDHERDS FROM SAMARIA.

By E. L. SUKENIK, *Hebrew University, Jerusalem.*

DURING the first two years of the excavations of the Joint Expedition to Samaria, a few potsherds bearing Hebrew and Aramaic Inscriptions were found. Although I have not been able to suggest suitable readings for all of them, we have thought it best to publish photographs and transcriptions of these as well in order to afford also others an opportunity of studying them.

I. *Hebrew.*

1. Fragment of a jug (broken in three pieces), measuring about 5×5 cm. Buff ware containing pink and black grits. Outer surface covered with red slip.

Provenance.—Deep circular trench, full of Israelite pottery, in the rock east of the city.

Register No.: C. 689.

On the red ground of the outer surface are deeply incised in a flourishing hand the four letters לפתח (Fig. 1).

The analogy of other single-worded inscriptions beginning with ל would indicate that לפתח is a proper name.

פתח occurs as the name of the father of the Jew נחמ in an Aramaic papyrus of Elephantine.¹ At a later period פתח appears in three inscriptions on a Palmyrene sarcophagus.² Is it a hypocoristicum of some theophorous name compounded with a root פתח, פתח, or something similar?

2. Fragment of a shallow bowl measuring about $10 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ cm. Buff ware containing pink and black grits; red slip on both surfaces; outer surface and rim burnished.

Provenance: As of No. 1.

Register No.: C. 1101.

¹ A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century, B.C.*, No. 40, l. 2.

² J. Cantineau, *Inventaire des Inscriptions de Palmyre*, Fasc. IV, p. 25.

On the outer surface are incised, to the right, two plain vertical lines, and left of them three horizontal lines of writing. The lower end of the outer vertical line and the left ends of the first two lines of writing are missing. The upper line is written in larger and cruder characters than the other two, and apparently by a different hand. The incompleteness of the lines, and the absence of word division and vowel-letters, render the interpretation very difficult, despite the fact that the reading of most of the letters is certain (Fig. 2).

Transliteration:

1. ^גברכשלמ
2. ^גברכ ^היהרעמחרשבו
3. ^גימנהשערמי מ

Line 1 can be interpreted with a considerable degree of probability from the roots ^גברך and שלם, but the forms—^גברך “blessing” or ^גברך “blessed,” שלם “peace” or שלם “healthy”—can only be a matter of speculation. (Other possibilities are the proper names ^גברך, שלם, ^גשלם.)

In line 2 we have again, at the beginning, the word ^גברך, followed by two small diagonal strokes, which are probably to be interpreted as numerals. The next letter is certainly ה. The following one is in all probability ר. The ע is also almost certain (the only alternative being ד). The מ, though different from those in the following line, cannot be read otherwise. The following letter is ח if the upward continuation of the lowest tooth was really intended as the left vertical stroke that closes the ancient ה; but it may merely be a flourishing finish to a ה. This letter is apparently followed by ר. The last three letters are almost certain; nevertheless, in the fragmentary state of the inscription, one cannot be certain that the last one is not ס rather than ר. The first half of this line may, therefore, with all due reserve, be read

^גברך ייהרעם

“Blessed! The 2 shepherds . . .”

The last five letters may be divided as **חר שבו, חרש בו** or otherwise; but I have been unable to read any sensible meaning into them. The continuation of this line is certainly broken.

The letters of line 3 are in themselves quite clear, but how they are intended to be combined is a puzzle. The following are some of the possibilities:—

(a) **ימן השערים ט מ**

"He shall count the barley 10 (?) measures (? **מר** = **מ**)."

(b) **ימנה שערים ט מ**

"He shall count barley, etc."

(c) **ימנה שערים . .**

"The right of the gates . . ."

(d) **י מן השערים . . .**

"From the gates . . ." (the **י** being the conclusion of the last word in the preceding line).

(e) **י מנה שערים ט מ**

". . . . from him barley 10 (?) measures."

3. Fragment of a bowl, about 6 × 5 cm.; buff ware with pink and black grits; red slip on inside and irregularly on outside surface.

Provenance: As Nos. 1, 2.

On the inner surface are the beginnings of five deeply incised lines of writing, whose resemblance to that of the ostraca found by Reisner and Fisher in the Palace of Samaria is striking as compared with the foregoing. It reads (Fig. 3):—

1. **כירג**

2. **קליג**

3. **קמב**

4. **אר**

5. **מנ**

The final stroke of lines 1 and 2 may possibly represent a numeral rather than the letter \aleph , like the similar character in the Reisner-Fisher ostraca. In that case the first two lines might mean: "measures X . . . parched corn X . . .," but, of course, this is only a guess. The condition of the inscription offers no basis for the interpretation of the remaining lines.

4. Fragment of a body of a shallow bowl, about 9×5 cm. Buff to grey ware with grits; inside and outside covered with a red slip and burnished.

Provenance: As of preceding Nos.

Register No.: C. 428.

The outer surface is covered with scratchings, some of which resemble Hebrew characters. They seem to be the work of a child (Fig. 4).

5. Fragment of a shallow bowl, measuring 11×6.5 cm. Buff ware, red slip and burnished.

Provenance: Trench in front of south wall of Israelite Palace near rock.

Register No.: D. 857.

On left edge two incised letters $\aleph \aleph$, obviously the beginning of a proper name (Fig. 5).

II. Aramaic.

1. Fragment of a large jar, about 8×10 cm.; hard buff ware with white and dark grits; yellowish wash on the outside.

Provenance: Under the Herodian corridor on the top of the hill.

Register No.: Q. 474.

Written with black ink on the outside surface are two lines in Aramaic (Fig. 6):—

1. נַצְבָּא יִי נְבוֹאחָ?
2. [שִׁנָּה] וְיִי וְיִי וְיִי

The reading is certain with the exception of the last letter in line 1. The word in question is obviously an Accadian name, Nabû-ahhê- (verb), of which the last element is missing. The first word נַצְבָּא I take to mean "plantation" or "vineyard." Its

ordinary sense is "plant," "shoot," but it seems to have the sense of "farm" in an Aramaic papyrus of the Hellenistic period.¹ The archaic spelling י (for later יי) should be noted.

The inscription is in the nature of a label indicating the producer and the year of production of the contents of the jar, which were most likely wine.

2. Fragment of a large jar (Fig. 7), ware and provenance as No. 1.

Size: 9 × 8 cm.

Register No.: Q. 183.

י י י י .1

III י י שנת .2

Apparently this inscription is of the same nature as the preceding.

¹ See A. Cowley, *ibid.*, p. 192.



FIG. 1.



FIG. 3.



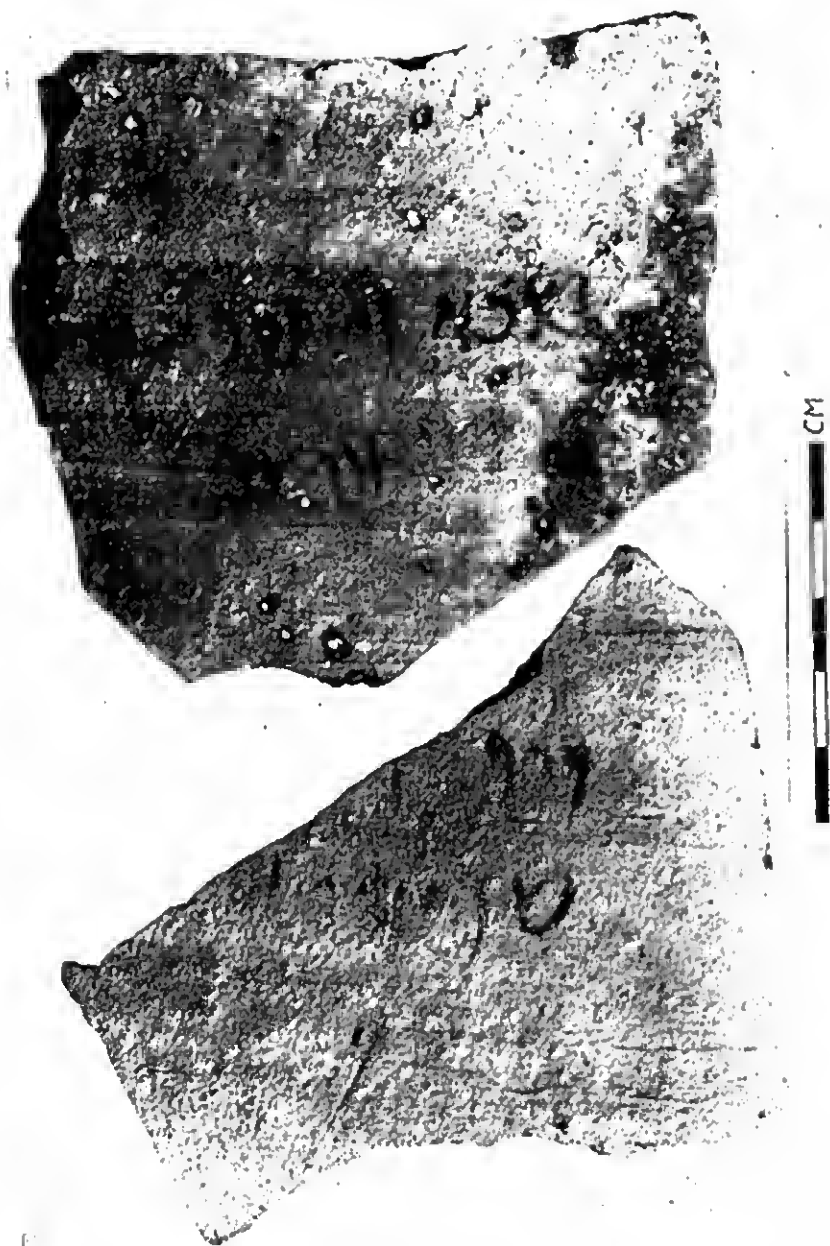
FIG. 4.



FIG. 5.



FIG. 2.



FIGS. 6 AND 7.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

The latest number of the *Journal* of the Royal Anthropological Institute is of special interest to students of matters Palestinian. It contains three articles dealing with various aspects of the earliest cultures hitherto discovered in Palestine. Miss Garrod describes the results of her excavations at Mugharet el-Wad, a cave at the western foot of Mt. Carmel. She has named the Mesolithic flint and bone industry revealed by her researches the Natufian culture, from the Wady en-Natuf, the site of the cave of Shukba, where her first discoveries were made. Sir Arthur Keith's provisional judgment regarding the skeletal material from the above-mentioned sites is that the Natufians belonged to a short, long-headed race, resembling the pre-dynastic Egyptians. With regard to the date of this culture, Miss Garrod says: "The exact dating of the Natufian culture presents a rather difficult problem. It is clearly anterior to the Early Bronze Age, since pottery of that period was found in the over-lying layers both at Shukba and the Mugharet el-Wad, the number of sherds found at Shukba pointing, in the opinion of Père Vincent, to a continuous occupation of at least 200 years. Moreover, the Natufian flints differ greatly from those found in Early Bronze Age levels, and recently classified by M. Neuville. Now the traditional dating for the Early Bronze Age in Palestine is 2500-2000 B.C., and we can, therefore, as a beginning, say definitely that the Natufian is earlier than 2500. How much earlier it is not easy to decide, as the period preceding the Bronze Age in this region is still exceedingly obscure." Miss Garrod goes on to argue that both the Natufian levels ante-date the appearance of pottery in Palestine, and therefore that the Natufian culture may be placed earlier than 3500 B.C. She concludes her article by saying: "On the evidence we possess at present, I consider the Natufian to be at least as old as the Badarian—probably, in view of the absence of pottery, somewhat older. That is to say, that, provisionally I date it at 4000-5000 B.C., but I do not claim that this represents a final opinion."

Miss D. M. Bate, in her article on the fauna of the Athlit caves, says that there is no clear trace of the domestication of animals, and that in general the evidence of fauna points to an early date.

A peculiar feature arising from the evidence, and pointed out by Miss Garrod, is that although the Natufians possessed neither pottery nor domesticated animals, they nevertheless seemed to have practised agriculture.

A HISTORY OF ISRAEL. By W. O. E. Oesterley and Theodore H. Robinson. Oxford. The Clarendon Press. Vol. I. From the Exodus to the Fall of Jerusalem, 586 B.C., pp. 496. 11 maps. Vol. II. From the Fall of Jerusalem, 586 B.C., to the Bar-Kokkha Revolt, A.D. 135, pp. 500. 11 maps.

The contribution of English scholarship to the field of Old Testament studies during the last half-century has been considerable, sound, and marked, on the whole, by the characteristic English virtue of moderation. But, while several excellent short manual histories of the Hebrew people have been produced by English scholars, there has been a curious reluctance to deal in a large and comprehensive way with the history of Israel. The early volumes of the *Cambridge Ancient History* showed that England possessed scholars fully equipped to deal with the history of Israel in all its aspects, but still the student who was not at home in the German tongue was obliged to fall back upon translations of Stade or Schürer for a complete history of Israel upon a large scale.

Now, at last, this deplorable gap in the shelves of English-speaking Old Testament students has been filled, and most adequately. It is a cause of sincere congratulation to the Society for Old Testament Study that the impulse to this great achievement should have come from a body which has already laid students of the Old Testament under a heavy debt of gratitude.

That the untiring industry which we are accustomed to associate with German scholarship is not confined to that country is evidenced by the long list of books which Dr. Oesterley has already produced upon many aspects of Old Testament study. His partnership with the late lamented Dr. G. H. Box yielded several most valuable contributions to the knowledge of later Judaism. Now a new and most fortunate alliance with a distinguished fellow Cambridge

scholar, Dr. Theodore H. Robinson, promises to enrich the field of Old Testament studies with even more fruitful results. Dr. Robinson has laboured abundantly as a *liaison* officer between English and Continental scholarship, a work which has been recently recognised by the University of Halle. That famous University has honoured itself no less than the recipient by conferring upon Dr. Robinson an honorary doctorate.

In the two ample volumes before us, produced with that distinction and accuracy which we associate with all the work of the Clarendon Press, the field of Hebrew history has been wisely divided by the fall of the Jewish monarchy in 586 B.C. Dr. Robinson deals with the pre-exilic period of the history, while his associate carries on the story to the tragic extinction of the last spark of Jewish political independence in the crushing of the revolt of Bar-Kokhba in 135 A.D.

Nevertheless, while the work of each author is marked by his own style and characteristics, the result is not two entirely independent contributions, but there has been throughout the fullest degree of interdependence and mutual criticism. The History of Israel under review is, in a very real sense, a joint work.

Dr. Robinson's style is lucid and unlaboured. He has the rare gift of clothing the dry bones of ancient history with flesh and blood. He has a turn of happy epigram and incisive phrase. The footnotes and Index of modern authors consulted show that practically nothing of importance in the field of Old Testament research has been overlooked. In the excellent discussion of the origin of the tribal system of the Hebrews, Noth's contribution to the subject in his valuable monograph, *das System der zwölf Stämme Israels*, does not appear to be noticed. Also, while Alt's important work on the territorial divisions of Israel in the time of Solomon is utilised, there is no mention, apparently, of his interesting discussion of the age of the patriarchs in his monograph, *der Gott der Väter*. But in such a vast field, so competently covered, it is unreasonable to expect every contribution to receive individual notice. Dr. Robinson himself, in a prefatory note, alludes to the bearing of Professor Garstang's recently published results of his excavations at Jericho on the question of the destruction of that city, Dr. Robinson's account of Nomad Israel, a question as to which the present writer confesses

to heretical leanings, is ably supported by Professor Lods in his recent book, *Israel*, frequently quoted by Dr. Robinson.

Reluctantly leaving his most interesting volume, we pass to the second part of the history. Here there is not quite the same ever-increasing mass of new material to reckon with. Nevertheless, as the P.E.F. Q.S. constantly demonstrates, excavation is continually throwing fresh light on the later periods of Palestinian history, and it may be said at once that nothing has been overlooked by Dr. Oesterley. But if excavational material is not so abundant, there is no lack of new literature, and as the fortunes of Israel become more inextricably intertwined with the political drama of the Mediterranean world, the problems to be dealt with by the historian become more and more intricate. Nevertheless, Dr. Oesterley guides the student securely through the maze of world politics. His mastery of the main lines of development never fails. His treatment of the exceedingly difficult and controversial period falling within the last half of the fifth century B.C. is admirable in its clearness and avoidance of theories resting on insufficient evidence. Throughout the volume one is aware that the author is dealing with the original sources, drawing his own conclusions, and not adopting second-hand results. No historian who has to deal with the Seleucid epoch can avoid being indebted to Professor Edwyn Bevan, and Dr. Oesterley does not fail to acknowledge his own indebtedness, but his conclusions are always his own. One would have welcomed some discussion, if only in an excursus, of Torrey's views on the Ezra-Nehemiah problem. But possibly Dr. Oesterley did not consider them worth direct treatment.

In conclusion, it only remains to be said that for many years to come the English student of the history of Israel is now provided with an authoritative guide through the fascinating problems of the origin and development of a people whose influence on the course of world-history surpasses that of any other people. In Old Testament language, generations to be born will bless the names of the authors of this great book.

S. H. H.

From Cedar to Hyssop: A Study in the Folklore of Plants in Palestine.
By Grace M. Crowfoot and Louise Baldensperger. London :
(The Sheldon Press), 1932. 8vo., pp. viii, 196, with many
illustrations.

A book of this kind presumes a happy combination of botanical field knowledge and intimate acquaintance with the language and the lives of the people. The two studies pass into one another, for it is the peasantry who know the local plants and their habits; and the historical-botanist—if we may use that expression—brings Dioscorides and Gerard to supplement and confirm the traditional herbal of modern Palestine, in part inherited from their knowledge.

Governing all plant life comes first the peasant's year with its folklore of rain and sunshine, winds and dew; and the deep-seated similarities between the traditions of Palestine and those even of far-off England are already apparent. Next we have the threefold "staff of life," as the Near East knows it—corn, wine and oil—with the procedure of their cultivation, and the beautiful prayers which hallow it. Though Islam abjures wine, yet the grape is not without honour, with its produce of raisins and *dibs*, and vine leaves stored for kitchen uses. It was the olive, on the other hand, that mourned, dark at heart, for Mohammed, though it could not shed its leaves with the other trees.

For the rest, how is the wonderful wealth of Palestinian plant life and plant lore to be set in order, as Solomon knew it "from cedar unto hyssop"? It is a simple and reasonable sequence, once you have the clue. Wild plants are used for food, as salads or condiments; for most various household purposes other than food—fuel and tinder, both responsible for age-long desolation of the hillside; hee plants, scents, dyes and soap-worts; uncanny and unprofitable plants; and plants with proverbial implications, useful indeed where speech is still a fine art. Medicines and magical herbs go naturally in company with sacred trees and mythical species like the "tortoise plant" and our own white lilac, which had its counterpart at Artas less than fifty years ago.

Vivid photographic illustrations of the uses and habits of certain plants,—that of the Lebanon cedars is a masterpiece—and skilful drawings of many others add greatly to the pleasure as well as the instruction of the reader. It is indeed indispensable in any Palestinian book shelf.

J. L. M.

Flora of Syria, Palestine and Sinai. By George Post, M.D., LL.D.
Second Edition revised and enlarged by John Edward Dinsmore,
M.A. American Press, Beirut, 1932. The Oxford Press.

For many years it has been quite impossible to buy a copy of Post's *Flora of Syria, Palestine and Sinai*. Indeed, the first edition, not a large one, was exhausted before the war, and those lucky botanists who possessed copies clung to them, uncertain when another edition could be produced, and the unlucky ones had to be content with consulting copies in libraries, for but rarely did one come into the hands of a bookseller.

The first edition was published in October, 1896, by Dr. Post, with help from the Publication Fund of that earlier form of the American University known as the Syrian Protestant College.

Dr. Post was a man of parts, missionary and surgeon, doctor both of medicine and law; while at the S.P.C., from 1869 to 1882, he held the chairs of Surgery and Botany, and gained fame as a surgeon throughout the Near East. In his vacations he made many journeys, some into wild and perilous places, collecting plants wherever he went. When back at his post, his scanty leisure was again used for arranging his thousands of specimens, making drawings, and finally preparing his book for publication. It was thirteen years a-printing, and he speaks himself of his many difficulties owing to the limited typographical resources of the Minion Press at that time. At length, in 1896, the book appeared, the fruit of many labours, to be of value to students to the present day, whenever a rare copy could be obtained.

Now the longed-for second edition appears, revised by Mr. Dinsmore, of the American Colony, Jerusalem, and published by the American University, Beirut. The reviser, like the author, had spent his spare time for many years in the acquiring of botanical knowledge, collecting of plants, also making many journeys into the wilds, so that when, in 1926, the American University decided to republish the *Flora*, and asked him to undertake the necessary revision and additions, he was well prepared for the arduous task.

The first volume of the new two-volume edition is already out; it was only from three to four years in printing; no doubt, with modern improvements, this part of the work was less difficult than in Dr. Post's day, but one notes 10 pages of additions and

corrections, the latter mostly of a typographical character, which looks as if Mr. Dinsmore, too, had had a few struggles with the printers. However, he, like Dr. Post, triumphed in the end, and the second volume is promised for the summer.

The two volumes will contain 142 families, 935 genera, and 4,200 species, an increase of 16 families, 105 genera and 700 species over the first edition, and only a very small part of this increase is due to the inclusion of common cultivated trees and shrubs.

One object has constantly been kept in mind by Mr. Dinsmore : to make the book thoroughly practical in every detail, and consequently a real handbook for the student of the botany of the Levant. With this in view, new artificial keys to certain genera (*i.e.*, Cruciferae, Umbelliferae, etc.) have been added, and these have purposely been kept simple, so that anyone without special knowledge can trace a flower by their means, and careful attention has been paid to things easy to be seen, as the colour of flowers, and the shape of seed vessels, etc. Again, a boon for the student, the number of illustrations has been increased to 750. The first edition (one volume) already had 441 illustrations in the text, from drawings by Dr. Post, not usually of the whole plant, but of some salient feature, whether leaf or flower or fruit, what some botanists would call the "identifier"; these cuts were woodcuts, and it is interesting to see how well the old blocks have survived some 40 years of storage, for the cuts appear again in the new volume, better printed and as useful as ever they were. Exceptions are Figs. 103, *Cleome pentandra*, 105, *Maerua crassiflora*, and 110, *M. globulosa*, which appear to have been re-drawn, and have not become more intelligible in the process; they are difficult subjects, as I know from days in the Sudan, where they are commoner plants than in Palestine; here they can be found only in the Jordan valley.

To the former illustrations are now added over 300 more line drawings, also in the text; 146 of these are in the first volume. These were drawn from specimens in the Post herbarium by Mrs. Olga Hokenkoff, of Beirut, and are for the most part very charming and graceful work; occasionally she seems to lack the botanist's sense of what must be drawn to make a plant identifiable, as, for example, with *Vaccaria segetalis* (Fig. 120), *Fumana arabica* (Fig. 135),

Vivurnum Tinus (Fig. 371), *Putoria calabrica* (Fig. 373) and *Gaillonina calycoptera* (Fig. 374), etc., and some of the Crucifers, if seen apart from the reassuring text, would leave a tyro uncomfortably dubious as to whether they had four petals or not; in some cases the reduction has been rather severe on the drawing, e.g., Figs. 55, 56, 63, 118, etc.; in a few cases the beauty of the flower is not conveyed at all in the drawing, lost is the delicacy of *Reaumuria palaestina*, the wild grace of *Dictamnus albus*, the boldness of *Agrostemma githago*, the pure line of *Aizoon hispanica*—on the other hand, there are others charmingly drawn, and of these one may mention *Anagyris foetida* (Fig. 196), *Calycotome villosa* (Fig. 202), *Physanthyllis tetraphylla* (Fig. 241), *Cytiopsis dorycnifolia* (Fig. 243), *Galega officinalis* (Fig. 255), *Poterium verrucosum* (Fig. 295)—but there are many more. One might hazard a shrewd guess that when the artist had seen the plant in life she made a better portrait of it than she could achieve of one whose face she had never beheld except squashed flat between sheets of drying paper.

Well, it is ungrateful to ask for more when the feast is so rich. It is a great achievement to have re-published this *Flora*, and all students of botany in these countries owe most grateful thanks to Mr. Dinsmore and to Dr. Dey, of the American University.

There must be many of them who feel as I do (given the necessary cash in hand), "Now at last I can possess a copy of the *Flora of Syrio, Palestine and Sinai* for my very own!"

GRACE M. CROWFOOT.

The Palestine Arab House, its Architecture and Folklore. By Dr. T. Cauuan. Jerusalem: Syrian Orphanage Press, 1933. IV, 107, x pl. 7s.

This book is the fifth in the series of reprints published by the Palestine Oriental Society, Jerusalem. It has appeared in volumes xii and xiii (1932-33) of the *Journal* of the society.

In these days, when the country is becoming rapidly westernized, it is of the utmost importance to record the folklore of the people, their manners, mode of life and the native arts and crafts. They are undergoing a bewildering change and will soon be irretrievably lost—at least, to a great extent.

A glance at the contents of this very interesting monograph shows that the author (well-known for his many-sided activities and thorough publications on Palestine folklore) has spared no efforts to make it comprehensive. His name is sufficient guarantee for the high standard achieved. The subject has been treated under the following heads:—I. Introductory. II. Construction : A.—The Stone House. 1, Quarrying Stones ; 2, Dressing Stones ; 3, Burning Lime ; 4, The Cistern ; 5, The Construction of the House B.—The Clay House. III. The House of the Peasant. IV. The Town House. V. Palestinian Architecture. VI. The Tent. VII. Folklore of the House. VIII. List of Arabic Terms.

The subject of this monograph is the dwelling house. Mosques and churches seem to be of foreign conception, as they are not built on the general lines adopted by the inhabitants as a result of age-long experience with regard to the climate and the soil. The Introduction contains an epitome on architecture—as understood by the Palestinian builder. Successive chapters deal clearly and ably with every aspect of the building. Dr. Canaan has added one more exhaustive study on a comparatively little known subject. The work is original in the best sense of the word. Compared with Jacger's *Bauernhaus in Palästina* (1912), which was intended to become a standard work, the book under review outstrips its predecessor, not only by the far superior knowledge and the wealth of material collected, but also by the thoroughness and authoritative knowledge with which it has been written. Yet if there be a grudge which we owe to the crude writer, it is for the shortness with which he sometimes sums up things known to an Easterner, but unknown to the Westerner.

The good illustrations are reproductions of photographs taken recently by the author and by others. Together with the drawings in the text they help the general reader to understand the monograph better and to explain what has been necessarily described summarily.

On the technical part, which is devoted to the description of the house, its material and its building, there is little room for comment. The facts are set out lucidly and carefully, yet they make quite interesting reading. The book contains a store of information, both technical and otherwise. By reason partly of its subject and partly of its own intrinsic value this volume of the J.P.O.S. Reprints

is destined to figure as a standard work on the subject, which hitherto has been treated inadequately.

The chapter on folklore deserves careful attention. It appeals not only to the specialist but also to the general reader as well as to the Bible student. Another interesting feature is the glossary of 675 local and technical terms. The former contain a good number of Arabisms, thus justifying their inclusion, while the surprisingly great percentage of Arabic loan words (ultimately over 33 per cent.) in the latter part testifies to the tenacity of the Aramaic in the colloquial Arabic of Palestine, on which subject the reviewer is collecting material for a monograph.

A few words may not be amiss with regard to the list of technical terms. Words like *qanbib*, *hint*, *dusrah*, *burfās*, taken at random, are only few, representing the large number of loan words, which need classification and tracing back to their original as was already done by, e.g., S. Fraenkel, Dozy, and others, for the Classical or written language. Not only the Aramaean, but also Neo-Greek, Turkish, Persian and French are represented in this strange vocabulary. In this connection the following addition to the bibliography may be mentioned:—“*Kleine Beiträge zur Lexikographie des Vulgärarabischen, aus dem Nachlass Professor Hermann Almqvist's herausgegeben von K. V. Zetterstéen*, in *Mondo Oriental*, XIX, 1925.”

The appeal of this absorbing and informative monograph is not limited to philologists. Anyone interested in the East and its ever-changing yet never decreasing charm would profit much by its study.

ST. H. STEPHAN.

Jerusalem,

25 May, 1933.

Trans-Jordan Luvu Belt: Azraq to Qa'a Umm Sa'd.

We have received from the Geographical Section, General Staff, War Office, three sheets of a map on the scale of 1:50,000, or about 1½ inches to 1 mile, of the remarkable Lava Area which stretches eastwards of Qazr El Azraq, this place itself being some 70 miles to the east of Amman. Each of the three sheets covers an area of 235 square miles, and as there may eventually be 16 sheets in

the group, the whole area to be shown will be 3,760 square miles ; but, at present, only three sheets have been printed.

The highest ground in this region is the Ashaqif Ridge, in which Jebel el Ashaqif rises to a height of 1,039 metres, or 3,408 feet, above the Mediterranean. This ridge runs nearly north and south for 14 miles, and is 90 miles E.N.E. of Amman. In the south-west there is the isolated hill Jebel Qarma, about 2,034 feet above sea level, but only some 200 feet above the ground at its base. There is also the small range of Jebel Tibish in the south, rising to a height of 2,067 feet, but only about 230 feet above its base. The lowest ground in the area is 1,640 feet above sea level.

The maps have been constructed from air photographs. The terrain as it appears from a study of the contours is in places very intricate, notably in the case of Jebel Fluq in the south-west ; this is a complicated hill area, 20 miles long by 10 miles broad, stretching N.N.W. and S.S.E. Here the greatest height is 2,165 feet above sea level, but the highest points are only some 300 feet above the gently sloping ground at its base.

But the most important feature of the map is to be found in the nature of the surface as shown by conventional signs and by colour. There are symbols for lava, sand, lava and sand mixed, and mud. These symbols practically cover the area, the surface of the greater part being lava, though there are some considerable patches of mud, and there are sand wadis in the lava fields.

Of even greater interest are the signs, dotted about the Map, which show those archæological features known as "kites," and other ancient stone wall enclosures. In some places, particularly in the neighbourhood of Qazr el Azraq and near the Wadi Selahih, these are thickly distributed. Altogether an interesting, if remote, piece of this world's surface.

C. F. CLOSE.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS. HEBREW.

HEBREW.	ENGLISH.		HEBREW.	ENGLISH.	
א	'		כ	<u>kh</u>	
ב	b		ל	<u>l</u>	
בּ	<u>bh</u>		מ	<u>m</u>	
ג	g		נ	<u>n</u>	
גּ	<u>gh</u>		ס	<u>s</u>	
ד	d		ע	'	
דּ	<u>dh</u>		פ	<u>p</u>	
ה	<u>h</u>		פּ	<u>f</u>	
ו	v, w		צ	<u>z</u>	
ז	z		כּ	<u>k</u>	
ח	<u>h</u>		ר	<u>r</u>	
ט	<u>t</u>		ש	<u>sh</u>	
י	y		ס	<u>s</u>	
כ	k		ת	<u>t</u>	
			תּ	<u>th</u>	

ARABIC.

ARABIC.	ENGLISH.		ARABIC.	ENGLISH.	
ا	'		د	<u>d</u>	
ب	b		ت	<u>t</u>	
ت	t		ث	<u>tz</u>	
ث	<u>th</u>		ج	<u>gh</u>	
ج	g	or j in Syrian Arabic.	ح	<u>f</u>	
ح	<u>h</u>		خ	<u>k</u>	
خ	<u>kh</u>		ك	<u>k</u>	
د	d		ل	<u>l</u>	
ذ	<u>dh</u>		م	<u>m</u>	
ر	r		ن	<u>n</u>	
ز	z		ه	<u>h</u>	
س	s		و	<u>w</u>	
ش	<u>sh</u>		ي	<u>y</u>	
ص	<u>z</u>				

Long vowels marked thus:—ā, ē, i, ō, ū.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
NOTES AND NEWS	169
BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN JERUSALEM. REPORT FOR SEASON, 1932-33	175
BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN JERUSALEM. ANNUAL MEETING. PROF. F. C. BURKITT'S ADDRESS	184
TELL DUWEIR. A LECTURE BY J. L. STARKEY	190
INSCRIBED POTSDHERDS WITH BIBLICAL NAMES FROM SAMARIA. BY DR. E. L. SUKENIK	200
EN-DOR : A SACRED SPRING. BY D. WINTON THOMAS	205
REVIEW AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS	207
TABLE OF TRANSLITERATION	216

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

		PAGE
TELL DUWEIR :		
PLATE I.	TELL DUWEIR	<i>after</i> 192
„ II.	RUINS OF THE CITADEL	„ „
„ III.	SKETCH OF RECONSTRUCTION OF RESIDENCY	„ „
	TENTATIVE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE WEST SIDE	„ „
„ IV.	VIEW LOOKING SOUTH-EAST	„ „
„ V.	VIEW LOOKING WEST	„ „
„ VI.	EARTH RAMP AGAINST WEST WALL OF CITADEL	„ „
	VIEW SOUTH THROUGH OUTER CITY GATEWAY	„ „
„ VII.	VIEW LOOKING NORTH	„ „
„ VIII.	BRONZE MAAT FEATHER	„ „
	CREST OF BRONZE HELMET	„ „
Inscribed Potsherds :		
FIGURE 5		204
PLATE IX.	FIGS. 1 AND 2	<i>after</i> 204
„ X.	„ 3 AND 4	„ „

THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING of the BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN JERUSALEM took place on Friday, October 6th, at the rooms of the P.E.F., when PROF. F. C. BURKITT, D.D., F.B.A., presided, and gave an address which appears on page 184.

MR. J. W. CROWFOOT, *Director of the School*, lectured on the EXCAVATIONS AT SAMARIA. A full report of the meeting will appear in the January, 1934, number.

A LECTURE is to be given for the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem by Miss DOROTHY GARROD on THE PRE-HISTORY OF PALESTINE. The date and place of the lecture will be announced later.

We are glad to be able to announce, on the authority of the Director of the Department of Antiquities in Jerusalem, that the paragraph in the July issue of the *Quarterly Statement* relating to the second half of Mr. John Rockefeller, Jun.'s munificent gift is entirely without foundation. Actually, the final donation in respect of the Museum has already been paid to the Palestine Government. The statement appeared in a journal usually well-informed, and since it concerned matters Palestinian was reproduced here in all good faith. We deeply regret the annoyance caused both to the generous donor and to the Government of Palestine.

The Exhibition of the Antiquities discovered by the Wellcome-Colt Expedition, under the direction of Mr. Starkey, at Tell-Duweir,

which was held in the newly arranged rooms of the P.E.F. from July 17th to August 4th, was an unqualified success. It amply demonstrated the suitability of the P.E.F. rooms for exhibitions of this nature.

The pottery and other objects, the fine model of the site, photographic enlargements, plans and diagrams, were excellently arranged with instructive titles by Mr. J. L. Starkey, the Director of the Exhibition, and his staff of helpers.

Of special interest were the bronze plumes from the helmets of Sennacherih's soldiers, and the gold Maat feather, the latter being lent by the Palestine Government Museum.

During the last week Mr. Crowfoot returned from Samaria, bringing with him nine fragments of the Samaria Ivories which remain for the present on exhibition with the P.E.F. collection.

The Franciscan Fathers of the Biblical Institute of the Franciscan Convent in Jerusalem have recently purchased the summit of Mt. Necho, the Pisgah of the Old Testament, and began excavations there in July of this year. Their first discovery was the remains of an early Christian church of the 4th century A.D. Like other recently discovered early churches, it contains a number of interesting mosaics. Near the altar there was found a well-preserved piece of mosaic with a Greek inscription, in which the name of Moses appears. This altar is supposed to be either the spot from which Moses viewed the Promised Land, standing some 2,645 ft. above sea-level, or the place of his burial. In the centre is a quaint design which may represent the Ark or altar with a lion on one side and a bull on the other, and at either end a gazelle with a bell.

Interesting illustrations of the mosaics and of the excavations appeared in *The Times* for August 18th.

In the Hertz lecture, delivered before the British Academy in July, Professor Rostovtzeff described the remarkable Biblical paintings discovered in a synagogue and Christian chapel at Dura-Europos, and discussed some of the interesting problems which they raise. The synagogue was built about 245 A.D., shortly before the city was captured and destroyed by the Persians. Owing to special measures taken to defend the walls on one side of the city from mining operations, the contents of buildings on this side of the city

were protected from all destructive agencies in a manner paralleled only in Egypt. Hence the remarkable state of preservation in which the paintings decorating the walls of these buildings were found. Both the synagogue mentioned above and a Christian chapel were among the buildings thus protected. In the synagogue the paintings represented Old Testament scenes such as Jacob and his Ladder, a cycle of Moses and a cycle of Kings, and carried the history on to the time of Ezekiel. In the Christian chapel there were scenes drawn from both the Old and New Testament. The New Testament pictures included the earliest pictorial representation of Christ healing the sick, and the earliest known portrait of St. Peter.

The plan of the synagogue resembled that of the synagogues of Delos, Priene and Tunisia, and differed entirely from the plan of the later synagogues of Galilee. The paintings raised the question of the attitude of Hellenistic Judaism towards pictorial representation of sacred subjects, as well as the problem of their origin. Professor Rostovtzeff was uncertain whether this was to be sought in Mesopotamia, Palestine, or Syria.

Another site that has recently attracted attention is Simonias, reputedly Shimrou, a town well-known in Talmudic times. It is about five miles west of Nazareth. Here Professor Klein, of the Hebrew University, and Dr. Maisler, of the Jewish Exploration Society, found pottery and bronze of the Late Bronze Age, and candelabra of the Middle Bronze Age. They believe that the presence of these objects points to the existence of a synagogue formerly on this site.

While we are on the subject of pictorial representations and their history, it may not be irrelevant to refer to the remarkable prehistoric rock drawings discovered by two American explorers last December. At Kilwa, in South-eastern Transjordan, near the border of the Hedjaz, Dr. Nelson Glueck, the Director of the American School of Oriental Research at Jerusalem, with Dr. Horsfield, the Director of Antiquities in Transjordan, found a small hard sandstone hill which was, in the words of the discoverers, "a veritable picture gallery. Every smooth surface on the sides and top of the hill had been utilised to chisel and peek out well-executed pictures of ibexes and other

animals." The Abbé Breuil, Miss Dorothy Garrod, and M. René Neuville, who have seen photographs of these drawings, agree that they belong either to palæolithic or neolithic periods.

We have received, from the Geographical Section, General Staff, War Office, another six sheets of the 1 : 50,000 map of the Trans-jordan Lava Belt : Azraq to Qa'a Umm Sa'd. This map is described by Sir Charles Close in the July Q.S., p. 166. Six sheets of this series have been published, and it is understood that, for the present, no further sheets will be issued.

P.E.F. PUBLICATIONS. It may be noted in the Fund's list, that many of our earlier publications, both books and maps, have become out of print. There is still a demand for many of them, and it is suggested that some members may be disposed to assist the Fund by presenting copies of such works for inclusion in our second-hand list, in the event of their having ceased to be of personal utility.

By an arrangement with Sir Flinders Petrie, Members of the P.E.F. are enabled to purchase at half the published price the Reports of the British School of Egyptian Archaeology dealing with the Society's researches in Palestine. Reciprocally, the excavation Reports of the P.E.F. henceforth issued are available to Members of the School in Egypt similarly at half-price. P.E.F. Members desirous of taking advantage of this privilege should apply to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, W.1.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

The Annual Report and Accounts, with list of subscriptions for the year 1932, was issued with the April number.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND INCOME TAX.—Subscribers may, if they wish, covenant to pay their subscriptions for seven years, thereby enabling the Fund to benefit by the recovery of

Income Tax thereon. A form of covenant was issued with the July *Quarterly Statement*, 1932, and copies of this form may be had on application to the Assistant Secretary.

The Committee gratefully acknowledge receipt of the forms already completed.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following :

The Antiquaries Journal, July.

The Museums Journal, September.

The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. lxiii, 1933, January-June.

The Scottish Geographical Magazine, July.

The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Vol. lxiii Pt. 1.

The Near East, July-Sept. Land Settlement in Palestine, July 22.

The American Journal of Philology, Vol. liv, 3, July-Sept. Solomon and Asmodai. By A. H. Krappe.

Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York), May-Aug. Ornament in Near Eastern Art. By M. S. Dimand, August.

Geographical Review, July.

The Homiletic Review, July-Sept.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 53, 2, June, 1933.

Notes on the Mythological Epic Texts from Ras Shamra. By J. A. Montgomery. Review of Hans Bauer, *Das Alphabet von Ras Shamra*. By J. A. Montgomery. Review of S. A. B. Mercer, *Études sur les Origines de la Religion de l'Égypte*. By G. A. Barton.

The Museum Journal (Philadelphia), Vol. xxiii, Nos. 3 and 4. Tepe Hissar Excavations, 1931. By E. F. Schmidt.

The Open Court, January, 1933. The Arts of Iran. By A. U. Pope.

Oriental Institute Communications (The University of Chicago). No. 14. Discoveries in Anatolia, 1930-1. By Hans Henning von der Osten.

Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, 1932, 2.

Revue Biblique, July. The Stele of Balu'a. By E. Drioton. The Sanctuary of Allat at Iram. By P. M.-R. Savignac.

Syria, xiv, 1. The Place of Syrian and Mesopotamian Art in the Byzantine Age. By S. Guyer.

Litterae Orientales, lv.

Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, athenische Abteilung. Bd. 57.

Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, July-Aug. Review of S. A. Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archaeology*, by C. Kuhl. Review of J. W. Crowfoot, *Churches at Jerash*, by E. Honigmann.

Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins, Bd. 56, h.4. A Fragment of Jewish Land Law in Isaiah 8. By K. Galling. Review of E. T. Peet. A Comparative Study of the Literatures of Egypt, Palestine, and Mesopotamia. By M. Noth.

Zeitschrift für die alttest. Wissenschaft, x. 2. The Divinities of Ras Shamra. By H. Bauer. Ordeal in Ancient Israel. By R. Press. The Seal of Jaazaniah. By W. F. Badé. The Passage of the Red Sea. By T. H. Robinson.

Associazione Internazionale Studi Mediterranei, Bollettino, Ann. 4, 1-2. *Biblica*, Vol. 14, 3. Les Fouilles de l'Institut Biblique (campagne 1932-3). By A. Mallon.

Archiv Orientalni, Vol. v, 1. The Ritual Pattern of a Ras-Shamra Epic. By T. H. Gaster. Etymological Notes on the Weak Verbs in Biblical Hebrew. By L. Gray.

Bible Lands, July.

Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society. July. Problems of Hebrew Epigraphy. By E. L. Sukenik.

The Jewish Quarterly Review, July. Review of S. Langdon, *Semitic Mythology*. By G. A. Barton.

The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society, Vol. xiii, 3. On the Ivories from Samaria. By J. W. Crowfoot.

Al-Mashrik, July-Sept.

New Judaea, June-Aug.

Palestine, Annual Report of the Acting Director of Surveys, 1932.

The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine, Vol. iii, 2.

Encyclopaedia Judaica. Verlag Eschkol A.-G., Berlin. 9 vols.

The Citadel of Beth-Zur. By O. R. Sellers. The Westminster Press. Philadelphia.

The New Knowledge about the Old Testament. By Sir Charles Marston. Eyre and Spottiswoode.

The Franciscans in the Land of our Redemption. By Fr. Conrad Aerts, O.F.M.

Provisional Schedule of Historical Sites and Monuments. Published 1929 by the Palestine Government.

Comparative Statement of Rainfall at Stations in Palestine for the months of March and April, 1933. Dept. of Agriculture and Forests.

BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN JERUSALEM.

REPORT FOR THE SEASON, 1932-1933.

THE Council has to report another year of successful work. There have been ten students in the School as compared with six in the previous year, and the results of the excavations both at Samaria and Athlit have been of peculiar interest. The researches on which the School has been engaged for the past few years in both these places are now nearing an end. At Athlit it is hoped that the excavation of the last of the caves in Wadi Mughara will be completed in the coming season. At Samaria the three years' programme of field work, which was undertaken by the School and its Associates, has been finished, and it is intended that the results should be published in final form before the end of the coming year. It seems therefore an appropriate moment to review again the position of the School.

It will be remembered that in consequence of our financial difficulties a scheme involving drastic economies was put forward in 1929, and that it was decided to reorganise the School completely in the following year. Our premises in Jerusalem were surrendered: the furniture of the Director's quarters was sold: the Library was transferred to a room in the American School of Oriental Research, which was generously placed at our disposal by the authorities of that School: other property of the School was stored in a room which was given to us with equal generosity by the French Archaeological School of St. Stephen: the School work was practically confined to the conduct of field researches. The expedient then adopted was described in the Report for 1929 as "impolitic" and "undignified," but it appeared to be the most feasible alternative to the closing down of the School altogether and the abandonment of the specific researches to which the School was already committed.

Apart from the two commitments already mentioned—the completion of the work at Athlit and the publication of the

Excavations at Samaria—the programme of work for the coming year contains four items.

Programme for the Season 1932-33.—The Director has been asked by the Palestine Exploration Fund, with the approval of the School, to examine the early site of Balua in Trans-Jordan, and the funds for this have been provided. Secondly, the Director has been asked to undertake the clearance of the Cathedral at Bosra if funds are available from some other source. Thirdly, the Director has been asked to prepare a complete and final report on the Churches which were excavated at Jerash in the years 1928-30: this Report will be published by Yale and the preparation may involve some weeks' work at Jerash. Lastly, a permit for the excavation of the site of Isbeita has been secured for a newly admitted student, Mr. H. Dunscombe Colt: this work will be directed by Mr. Colt, and all the expenses of it met from a special fund at his disposal: it will not, that is, throw any financial burden on the School.

The programme is a full one, but it is one which we hope to complete in the course of the next year.

It seems therefore reasonable to anticipate that all the commitments of the School will be either liquidated or on the road to liquidation in twelve months. The financial situation which led to our reorganisation ten years ago, has not, to the best of our knowledge, improved in any way, and it is for the subscribers and friends of the School to consider whether the results obtained since the reorganisation both in the advancement of knowledge and in the training given to the students, justify our endeavouring to continue indefinitely on the same lines, or whether there is any other prospect of development.

Finance.—

For the conclusion of the work at Athlit it is hoped that sufficient sums may be raised from other sources: in any case the School is not in a position to supply more. At Samaria no further field work is to be undertaken; but since the American share of the expenditure has been devoted wholly to the excavations, the cost of publishing the results will have to be met from the other contributions to the Samaria joint account. For this purpose we have approximately £500 in hand; and it is hoped that this will suffice. The coming year, as explained above, will be devoted mainly to

rounding off these two great enterprises, no new work being undertaken which will involve any call on the School's funds. We have therefore only to provide for the ordinary upkeep of the School.

The accounts for the year 1932-33 show a slight drop in subscriptions received, part of which, however, may be recovered as arrears. The great drop in the balance on General Account from £775 to £245 is partly explained by heavy expenditure on Caves Account, entailed by charges for freight and insurance on skeletons and antiquities sent to England for cleaning and study, and by a further advance from General Account for this excavation, but partly also by the discrepancy between the normal income and the normal expenditure of the School. The Council desires to call the careful attention of subscribers to this recurring deficit. For the fact cannot be too clearly stated that *the ordinary income of the School has never sufficed to meet its ordinary expenditure.*

Comparison of the School's annual accounts for the last seven years shows that when Excavations and Studentships have been debited to special donations and other sources of income, the normal expenditure for the upkeep of the School, on the present lines, amount to about £750. The income from subscriptions, including some life compositions, and from sales and royalties has averaged £594 annually, but has varied from £665 in 1928 and £709 in 1931, to £490 in 1930 and £501 in 1933.

The School has, therefore, been carried on with an average deficit of about £150 a year. These deficits have, however, been met hitherto from occasional sources of income, amounting to £2,150 in all, or an average of £300 per annum for the seven years. The point, in any event inevitable, at which these reserves would be exhausted will be reached prematurely in 1934, because in the last three years the School has advanced about £700 in all, or nearly a year's normal expenditure, to finance the Caves Account, in view of the School's commitment to the Palestine Government, and to our American colleagues who have agreed to bear half the total expense.

The School, in fact, cannot go on, unless the relation between its income and its expenditure is established on a sounder basis; and the Council may have to come to some far-reaching decisions in the course of the coming year.

The Work of the School during the past Session.—In September, 1932, the Director went to Ravenna to represent the School at the International Congress of Christian Archaeology, and read a paper upon the Church recently discovered at Samaria. After the close of the Congress he returned to England for the Annual Meeting on October 6. Later in the month he proceeded to Palestine, stopping on the way at Athens and Crete, and visiting the excavations at Athlit before reaching Jerusalem, where most of the winter was spent.

Popular interest in archaeology shows no sign of abating in Jerusalem. A course of lectures organised by the Y.M.C.A. on the History of Palestine was extremely well attended: Miss Garrod opened the course with a lecture on the Prehistoric periods, the Director lectured on the Israelite Age, and Mr. Johns, a former student of the School, on the Crusading period. The Director also lectured to the Palestine Oriental Society, of which he was President, and to the troops at Sarafend. Mrs. Crowfoot conducted an archaeological study-circle in the Library of the British School for the Palestine Association of University Women. The Director left Jerusalem for Samaria at the end of March and remained there until July.

Excavation of Samaria.—Professor and Mrs. Lake, Professor Blake, Dr. Suknik, Miss Kenyon, Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Pinkerfeld and Mr. Reiss were with us again. The new arrivals included three new students of the British School, Miss Murray, Miss de Crespigny and Mr. Inge who supervised different sections of the field work; Dr. Wein-Green, of Trinity College, Dublin, and Mr. Hood, late Suffolk Regiment, who contoured the site, among other duties. Mrs. Crowfoot was again in charge of the registration section, and Miss Joan Crowfoot of the clinic.

The season which is just over is the last season which the Joint Expedition intended to devote to Samaria, and the work was arranged accordingly. On the summit the two unexcavated strips in the centre which lay between our previous trenches were cleared, as well as a strip immediately east of the area where most of the ivories were found in the previous year. In other parts of the site a series of soundings was made rather with the hope of determining particular points in the

topography of the later town than with the object of completely clearing any single building: in our present knowledge of the site this seemed the most useful policy to pursue at this juncture and it was also the most economical.

On the southern half of the summit considerable remains of the Early Bronze Age were found, but the most important discoveries made in this field belong to the period of the Israelite monarchy. In the strip east of the ivory area another magnificent piece of early Israelite masonry was found in the last fortnight of the season. It is a work on the same line as a prepared scarp which was found in 1932 and as a fragmentary wall which was discovered further west in the first season; it is obviously part of one and the same building. Some more ivories were found in this neighbourhood, some actually on the wall, others in the filling of later walls behind it, and it is plain that this building has better claims to be identified as Ahab's "Hall of Ivory" than any other which has yet been uncovered. In the new piece of wall parts of four courses are standing, the bottom course bossed in the Israelite style, the others dressed smooth like the finest early Israelite building found by the previous Harvard Expedition and attributed by Dr. Reisner to the time of Ahab. The wall ran the whole way across our trench, a width of some seven metres, and it continues to the east so that it was most tantalising to be unable to pursue it any further. The most interesting of the new ivories contained fragments of a figure seated on a throne with fragments of a second figure standing behind. This wall belongs to the beginning of the Israelite period, that is, to the time of Ahab.

Our second great discovery is considerably later and may belong, if Reisner's tentative identifications are correct, to the time of Jeroboam II. It is a great semi-circular tower, some thirteen metres in diameter, which lies about 100 metres further to the east. Parts of nineteen courses remain here in position, the courses averaging about forty centimetres in height. The wall is some two metres thick and the stones, which are practically all laid as headers, are beautifully jointed. It is the most impressive and amazing piece of Israelite fortification which has been found anywhere in Palestine, and the Palestine Government has decided to expropriate the area and leave it permanently open.

The smaller finds of the early period include a small fragment from a cuneiform stele and some more Hebrew ostraca.

The Roman theatre was the most interesting, perhaps, of the later discoveries made. Only a small section of the theatre was dug, but several of the seats were found still in good condition, and there were some instructive fragments of carving from the façade of the stage. Three trenches were sunk in different parts of the columned street which skirts the south side of the ridge: it was found that the street was bordered on either side by a ribbon of small shops like those in a modern bazaar. Near the west gate an interesting shrine of the later Roman period was discovered. A great deal of light was thrown upon the ancient water-supply of the Roman town: in two villages to the east extensive remains of built aqueducts were found, besides large sections of the conduits which led from them towards Sebaste, and traces of a bridge aqueduct connecting the conduits with the town. The line of the city wall at the north-east corner and portions of the towers which defended it were also traced.

The new contributions of the last season towards our knowledge of the ancient city have therefore not been inconsiderable.

Excavations at Athlit.—In collaboration with the American School of Prehistoric Research, work was carried on at the Wady al-Mughara from the beginning of October, 1932, till the end of the year, and from the beginning of April till mid-July, 1933.

In addition to the Students of the British School, whose names will be found below, two students of the American School of Prehistoric Research, Miss Fuller and Miss Sears, took part in the Wady al-Mughara Expedition.

During the autumn season the excavation of the Mugharet-el-Wad was completed, and two more Natufian skeletons with caps of shells and bone ornaments were found. The main part of the work, however, was the excavation of the Mugharet-et-Tahun, the last cave of the group. This proved to contain an unexpected depth of archaeological deposit, ranging from Upper Mousterian to Acheuleo-Mousterian of an unexpected type. Towards the end of the season a human skeleton was found in a Lower Mousterian horizon corresponding more or less to the archaeological deposit of the Mugharet-es-Skhul excavated by Mr. McCown in the spring of 1932.

During the spring season of 1933 work was concentrated on the Mugharet-et-Tabun, and excavation was carried out over a much wider area than in the spring. Underlying the Acheuleo-Mousterian was found a true Acheulean horizon, and below this again, a deposit containing a flake industry closely comparable with that found in the lowest levels of La Micoque (Dordogne), which the Abbé Breuil has named Tayacian. The last-named horizon rested immediately on the bed rock, which was reached in a small sounding trench. The maximum thickness of the archaeological deposits was 22.50 m.

If we assume that the Mousterian stages in Palestine are roughly contemporaneous with those of Europe, the lowest levels of the Mugharet-et-Tabun must be placed in the last (Riss-Würm) interglacial period, and cannot be dated to much less than 100,000 years ago.

Students.—Ten students were admitted, or [re-admitted, to the School :—

Lieut.-Commander A. G. Buchanan (1928) again joined us at Samaria. The expedition owes a deep debt to Mr. Buchanan for the way in which he has conducted the survey of the work, and, in particular, during the last season, for his help in identifying the site of the Roman theatre and aqueduct.

Mr. T. P. O'Brien (1931, University College, London), rejoined the staff of the Wady Mughara Expedition, and collaborated with Miss Kitson in the excavation of the Mugharet-el-Wad.

Miss N. le Ch. de Crespigny (1933, Adelaide and London University) worked at Samaria in the excavations on the site of the theatre and the columned street.

Miss E. Dyott (1932) assisted at Athlit both in the autumn of 1932 and in the spring of 1933. She took charge of the cleaning and registration of objects, and was working on flints in Jerusalem during the winter months.

Miss D. A. E. Garrod, B.A. (1928, Fellow of Newnham College, Cambridge) returned in the autumn of 1932, and directed excavations at Wadi Mughara, both last autumn and in the following spring.

Miss J. J. Hopkins, B.A., (Newnham College, Cambridge) joined the staff of the Wady Mughara Expedition, and was in charge of excavations in the inner part of the Mugharet-et-Tabun.

Mr. C. H. Inge (1932, Oriel College, Oxford) came out in the autumn and spent the winter months with the Wellcome-Colt expedition at Tel al Duwair. He came to Samaria in April, and worked mainly on the walls and the aqueducts.

Miss K. M. Kenyon, B.A. (1931, Somerville College, Oxford) joined the Samaria expedition again, and was again in charge of the excavations on the summit.

Miss E. Kitson, B.A., M.Sc., (Girton College, Cambridge and University College, London), joined the staff of the Wady Mughara Expedition, and with Mr. T. P. O'Brien completed the excavation of the Mugharet-el-Wad, and afterwards collaborated in the work at the Mugharet-et-Tabun, being in charge of the area where the human skeleton was found.

Miss K. M. E. Murray, B.A. (1933, Somerville College, Oxford) was admitted to a Mond Studentship, and joined the Samaria Expedition. She supervised the excavation of the semi-circular tower and the shrine by the west gate.

Distribution of Duplicate Antiquities.—By the courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, the School has been enabled to distribute representative series of objects from its excavation in the Athlit Caves to the British Museum and to subscribing institutions as follows:—The Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Manchester, Glasgow, and Toronto, and the McGill University, Montreal.

A similar series from subsequent work will be distributed shortly to subscribing institutions in accordance with the amount of their subscriptions.

Publications.—The *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund, which incorporates the *Bulletin* of the School, included the following articles on the work of the School during the past year:—

- Oct., 1932. *Pots Ancient and Modern.* By Grace M. Crowfoot.
The Monastery of St. Euthymius. By the Rev. Derwas J. Chitty, M.A.
- Jan., 1933. *The Ivories from Samaria.* By J. W. Crowfoot, C.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.

April, 1933. *The Samaria Excavations—The Stadium.* By J. W. Crowfoot., C.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.

The Samaria Excavations—The Augusteum. By Miss Kathleen M. Kenyon.

The Ivory Inlays from Samaria. By H. G. May.

The Excavations at Jerash. By J. P. Naish.

July, „ *Samaria—Interim Report, 1933.* By J. W. Crowfoot, C.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.

Inscribed Hebrew and Aramaic Potsherds from Samaria
By E. L. Sukenik.

Other articles were:—

Journal of the Palestine Orient Society, vol. xiii, 1933.
An article on "The Ivories from Samaria," by J. W. Crowfoot, C.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.

Discovery, December, 1932. An article on Samaria.
by Miss K. M. Kenyon.

Illustrated London News, January 21, 1933. An
article on the Samaria Ivories. by J. W. Crowfoot,
C.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.

BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN JERUSALEM.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, OCTOBER 6TH, 1933.

ADDRESS BY PROFESSOR F. C. BURKITT, D.D., F.B.A.

I HAVE been told that I may speak this afternoon on any subject connected with archaeology: I choose for it the rather peculiar relations that archaeology in general, and the British School at Jerusalem in particular, have with Christian theology. Why is it that similar schools at Athens and at Rome seem to excite more interest and attract more scholars than ours at Jerusalem?

One answer, of course, is financial. If we had more money at our disposal we should do better. That, indeed, is obvious, but it leads to the further question, why have we not got more money? And—which is really part, and an important part, of the same question—why are tutors and other responsible persons who have the direction of younger students not more eager to urge these students to avail themselves of the many advantages of a time of work in the Holy Land?

The first answer, again, is financial. Students cannot afford the time which a year or more in Palestine would take up. If it led to a lectureship or professorship it might be worth making the effort, but for the ordinary theological student, no! Let him be ordained at once and get on with his serious business of conducting services, or running boys' clubs or mothers' meetings.

I am not here concerned with the praise or blame of present tendencies, I only wish to set forth the facts. It is more than a mere fashion, it represents a real reorientation. The churches have turned away from the past to the present. The past does not now speak to them with the same kind of authority as heretofore, and they are losing vital interest in it.

I feel that this expression of opinion will meet with some opposition, and therefore I will explain it more at large. The Christian Religion used to be a comparatively simple thing to define. There were several varieties, of course. But they all agreed that it had reached a high degree of perfection in the past, and that the authorities of the past were authorities for us. Among the most trusted

authorities, for most Protestants the only real authority, was the Bible. "The Bible, the Bible alone, is the religion of Protestants," wrote Chillingworth.

This attitude of mind had curious consequences. If the Bible were so important, everything connected with it was important. The Bible history, its account of ancient events and distant lands, was something that concerned every Christian. And its particular statements and events are much more easily grasped than the growth of ideas it was rather as the infallible Book than as the Book of the Providential development of Doctrine that the Bible was cherished and studied.

I am speaking of sixty to a hundred years ago, of the time I remember as a child, of the world of my parents and their contemporaries. Where do we stand now? The answer is, in a totally different world. On all sides we hear that the Bible is not studied, as it used to be. Can we really wonder? Not that it is all loss, far from it. The Infallible Book has gone. In its place we have the wonderful and fascinating picture of Palestine and the ancient world generally, that is slowly being built up by archaeology and criticism, a work in which the British School at Jerusalem and the Palestine Exploration Fund are taking their share. And those who are actually engaged in this work know how interesting it and the kindred work of literary criticism are.

But to the public behind and outside us the work has become less interesting. When the Book ceased to be infallible it became less interesting, less important. That is the real cause of the decay of Bible-reading, so universally deplored. And it is the real cause why excellent institutions like our British School at Jerusalem are not better supported. The historical interest of the Bible remains, indeed, has increased. But the English, as a people, take but a languid interest in history. They are occupied with the present and the future, with science, with what is called "development." You and I, of course, *are* interested in history, in the past: what it is important that we should remember is that we are in the minority.

There is also another matter, closely connected with what has gone before, to which some words may be devoted. The study of Greek and Roman antiquity differs from the Christian study of Palestine in two or three important respects all of which react

unfavourably on the school at Jerusalem. In the first place Rome and Athens really were the centres of classical civilization. Jerusalem and Palestine were such mainly from what may be called sentimental association. Moreover the genius of the Græco-Roman civilisation all through its long history expressed itself in art, in buildings, in objects which still, notwithstanding plundering and vandalism, can be seen and touched at Athens and Rome. The Christian link with Palestine is more literary. What do the Gospels tell us? They say that Jesus had a short public career, perhaps two years in all. He went about in Galilee, and uttered memorable sayings, but founded no city, no buildings, no material school. He was crucified in Jerusalem, and other places in that city are connected with His story; but forty years later the city itself was destroyed, and if any sites connected with the Gospel narrative are genuine they have been covered over with later buildings that entirely mask the conditions of A.D. 30. The tale told in the Book of Acts shows us the followers of Jesus living at Jerusalem. The house of the mother of John surnamed Mark would indeed be an interesting relic, if it had survived to our days unaltered! But, like the rest of the houses of old Jerusalem, it must have perished, if not in 70 then in 135. Even outside Palestine, in Antioch, in Alexandria, even in Rome itself, the Christians for a couple of centuries, from the point of view of the archaeologist, *did* nothing except write books. And if we want to get archaeological remains of early Christian work, we must go to the Catacombs, *i.e.*, to Rome.

The Jewish background to the Gospels is certainly an important, even an indispensable, element in Christian study. But for the most part this is more a literary than an archaeological problem. Who were the Pharisees? What ought we to think about them? That is an important historical question, but archaeological study can do little to settle it. Even the Essenes, so attractive to read about in the pages of Josephus, are not likely to have left any permanent traces of their habits and customs, if we were so fortunate as to identify the actual site of one of their settlements.

More than this. If we may, by a flight of unjustifiable imagination, imagine a Babylonian archaeologist and ethnologist travelling in the train of Nebuchadrezzar, and making an investigation of the lands of Judah and Israel soon after the destruction of Jerusalem in

586 B.C., what would he have found to distinguish the Hebrew kingdoms from Damascus and Tyre, or from Moab and Ammon? 'Jezebel's work-box' might then have been in good preservation, and others like it. The local shrines might have been desolate, but so it was in every conquered land. The Temple, anyhow, was a mass of ruins. Would our Babylonian have been able to *infer* the Prophets? Would he have been able to guess that Jeremiah, recently taken off to Egypt, and Ezekiel, now for some years domiciled in Iraq, were religious innovators of genius, whose works were destined to survive and exert influence, long after Babylon had become a dust-heap? A visitor to Athens would at any time have been forced to infer the former presence there of a marvellous and gifted race. But in Palestine before the Exile what had the Hebrew inspiration effected? It had, indeed, effected much and permanently. But this was written on the hearts of a few, who transmitted it to their children; it was not written with an iron pen and lead, or graven on the rocks, for us to dig up.

I bring all this before you, not by way of belittling Palestinian archaeology in itself, but by way of reminding ourselves how little it touches the main fields of Christian theology, and thereby excusing the churches for the somewhat perfunctory interest which they take in Palestine and its remains.

Let me illustrate the changed way in which we now look at Biblical study by the admirable paper, which I hope you have all read, on 'Israel in the Arabah,' published in the July *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund by Canon Phythian-Adams. I may say at once that it has done much to convince me that 'the Rock' captured by Amaziah (2 Kings, xiv, 7) really may have been the site of 'Petra,' before Petra entered upon its modern career of wealth and glory under the Nabataeans. Canon Phythian-Adams is particularly interested in the Judæan occupation of harbours on the Gulf of Akaba, first at Ezion-Geber, under Solomon and later at Elath. He points out that Solomon's ships that sailed from Ezion-Geber must have taken out with them something for barter, and that near Akaba there are copper mines. He goes on to suggest that the savage wars waged by David against Edom may very likely be connected with the control of this valuable commodity. It is all connected with the probable occupation of

the site of Petra in those days by the friendly tribe of the Kenites, with which Canon Phythian-Adams most ingeniously connects the Oracle of Balaam in Numh. xxiv, 21. And he points out that 'for two periods in its history, from David to Jehoshaphat, and again from Uzziah to Ahaz, the Arahah was in the hands of Israel.'

He goes on to show that there are passages in the Bible which actually reckon the Arahah as not only in Israelite possession, but as lying actually within the theoretical limits of the Land of Promise, quoting the passage where Moses tells the people in Deuteronomy that from the hills of the land which the Lorn shall give them they will be able to 'dig brass' (Deut. viii, 9). There is no copper in the land of Israel as usually reckoned: even the late Dr. Kennett, in his attractive lectures on 'Hebrew Life and Custom' can only say that copper was obtained 'in or close to the borders of' the Holy Land, referring to this very verse (Kennett, *Ancient Hebrew Social Life and Custom*, p. 84). But Canon Phythian-Adams can say it must 'have been well-known both to the writer and to his readers that at some period Israel was in the possession of these copper-mines [near Akaha], and it must, further, have been possible to allude to them as lying within the borders of the nation's territory. In other words, it must have been possible to claim the Arahah as belonging to Israel, and to exclude it, in consequence, from the territory of Edom' (*Q.S.*, p. 142).

This is a very pretty bit of mixed archaeological and literary criticism, and has a bearing on the date to be assigned to Deuteronomy. But I quote it as a recent and conservative specimen of the way in which we have learnt to treat the Bible and its statements. I do not quarrel with the method: I am one of the so-called 'Higher Critics' myself, and have uttered many more questionable heresies. My only criticism is that you cannot have it both ways. Formerly hold criticisms or denials of the statements of Holy Writ excited interest, if not opposition. The palladium of the faith was being attacked. One saw Mr. Gladstone and Professor Huxley discussing the Gadarene swine in a prominent magazine, and all the world looked on. But the critics won on the main issue, and the Bible is now studied in the same way that other books of ancient literature are studied.

The gain to our real knowledge, to our knowledge of ancient history and ideas about religion, is immense. But we have to pay for it. And we pay for it, in my opinion, by the decay of interest of people at large in the Bible and Bible studies. Religious experience, whether psychological or sacramental, has taken its place among those who have Christianity at heart. And among those whose thought is more secular the long vistas of Egypt and Babylon, not to speak of the new science of Prehistoric Archaeology, tend to occupy the space that sixty or a hundred years ago was devoted to the Holy Land and the Bible. It may be regrettable, but our business is to recognise the facts of the world around us.

F. C. BURKITT.

A LECTURE

DELIVERED AT THE ROOMS OF THE PALESTINE
EXPLORATION FUND, ON JUNE 22ND, 1933

BY J. L. STARKEY.

Before giving a short account of our first season's work in Palestine, perhaps I should explain the main objectives of our expedition, and how it was that Tell Duweir was selected as a first task.

Our aim is to trace, if possible, the sources of the various foreign contacts which influenced the development of Palestinian culture in the early pre-Hellenistic periods, exemplified particularly by the potters' craft, where we often find wares which appear both in form and decoration not to be indigenous.

Egypt to the south, apparently, had little influence on the development of pottery in Palestine and like the Aegean when its influence is present is easily recognised. There are other styles and influences which are as yet difficult to understand and which have not been traced to their cultural origins. One must assume, therefore, that these foreign elements were introduced from the north and east.

In view of the extreme rarity of written records from Palestine this line of investigation promises good results, and a century of excavation has emphasised the value of this class of evidence.

The first step to this line of approach would be the examination of a site in a key position, preferably to the south of Palestine and to the north of the watershed of the wadies Ghuzzeh and Sheriah, an area where much work has been done during the last six years by the British School of Archaeology in Egypt under Sir Flinders Petrie. A site in this locality with a full series of well stratified levels would enable us to secure sufficient evidence to build up a proper historical background as a basis for this study.

The second step would probably be the examination of a site or sites to the north or north-east near the Palestino border, on one of the main trade routes, and to work from there in stages northwards, endeavouring to maintain a continuous series of cultural contacts.

Here then in broad outline, is the chief objective of our expedition.

We have begun with the examination of Tell Duweir, a site which answers in every way to our first requirements. It is situated in a central position in the Shephelah, that is to say, the western foothills of the Judean range, on the main Gaza-Hebron road, and is half-way between Gaza and Jerusalem as the crow flies, at a distance of 25 miles.

The Tell is the extension of a limestone ridge, surrounded on four sides by wide valleys, isolating it from the adjoining hills, so that it is almost an island site. Its north, east and west sides are steeply scarped with the ruins of stone buildings capping the upper levels.

The work which we have done this season falls under four headings :—

1. Excavation of the governor's residence of the Persian period.
2. The clearance of a fan-shaped area on the lower slopes of the north-west corner of the mound.
3. The examination of the city's defences, including the south-west bastion with its inner and outer gate and the ascending roadway.
4. The cutting of a vertical section down through the town levels at the north-east corner, so as to ascertain the range in time of the lower levels of the town.

A small area to the south-east of the mound was also examined, which shows the presence of a larger extension of the city running down to the bank of the Wady Ghafr. This suburb proved to be of Ramesside date, 1300-1200 B.C., and, considered in conjunction with other remains of this period, near the north-west corner, marked the

period of the town's maximum expansion and prosperity. The chief object of interest from this work is a bronze Maat feather, overlaid with gold-leaf. It measures $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches from the tip to the broken end of the quill, both sides being similarly engraved. It had been wrapped in ancient times in a piece of linen cloth and there are traces of this material, showing a fine texture, still adhering to its surface. The carbonate of copper now forming the outer patina of the bronze underlying the gold foil, acts as a preservative to the threads in contact with it. The feather is certainly of Egyptian workmanship, as the details of the quill, its curving end and the conventional rendering of the barbs clearly show. It is possibly from a piece of temple furniture, probably from the ornaments of a shrine.

The only work done on the top of the mound, apart from the late city wall, was the partial examination of the large rectangular building which crowns the site, and the complete clearance of the late residency founded upon it.

This late structure, representing the last phase of occupation of the mound, only covers about two-thirds of the earlier building, which formed a terrace beyond the northern and southern ends.

We cleared the outer face of the earlier complex, where we found a curious state of things, for the soil against these walls consistently produced sherds of the late Bronze Age and many good decorated pieces, as well as fragments of fine alabaster vessels, which made this equation quite certain. We, therefore, decided to cut a sectional trench through the mass, and the sherds obtained throughout this work were of the same date as those we had collected from the surface. It soon became clear from the stratification exposed in the sides of our trench, that we were dealing with soil intentionally thrown against the foundations and lower courses of the outer walls. When we reached the undisturbed levels below the foundations, we saw how this puzzling condition of things had occurred, and how it was that late Bronze Age sherds were to be found ten feet above the surrounding surface of the mound, which represented the Vth century B.C. occupation level, as proved by the presence of black figured Attic ware.

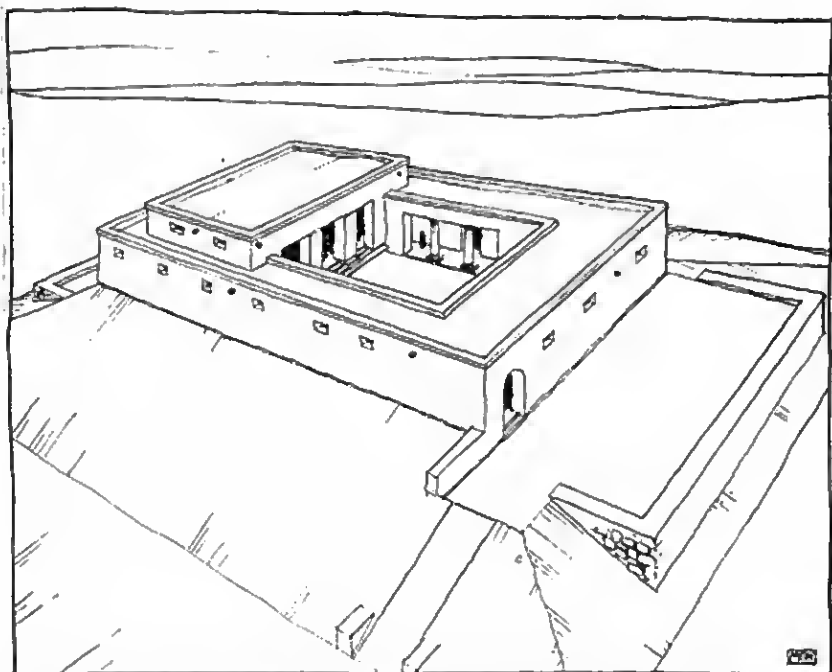
Our sectional trench showed us that the builders of the earlier



TELL DOWER.



RUINS OF THE CITADEL.



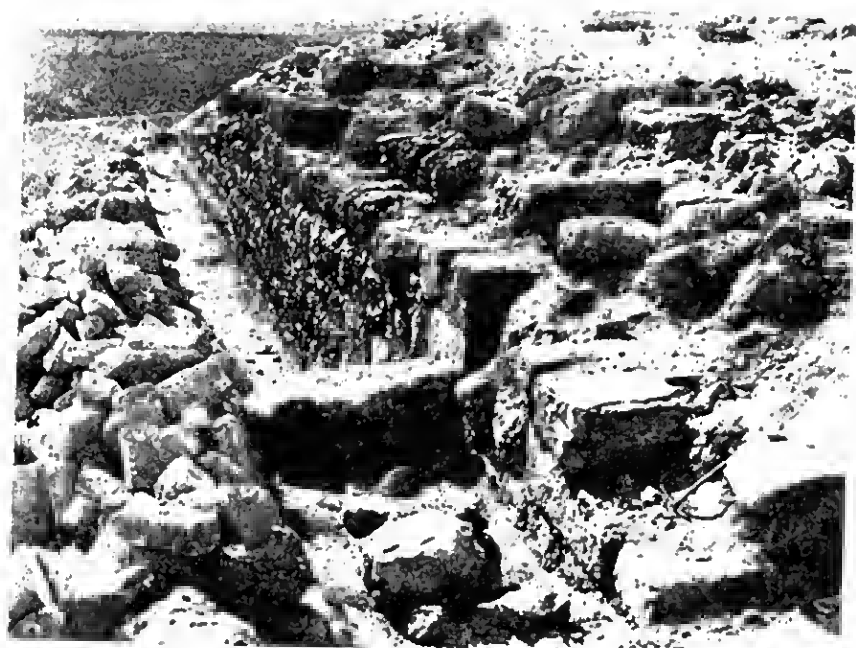
ISOMETRIC SKETCH OF RECONSTRUCTION OF RESIDENCY (PERSIAN PERIOD) TO SHOW ITS RELATION TO THE EARLIER BUILDING BELOW (CITADEL OF THE JEWISH KINGDOM). NOTE EARTH RAMP SURROUNDING IT.



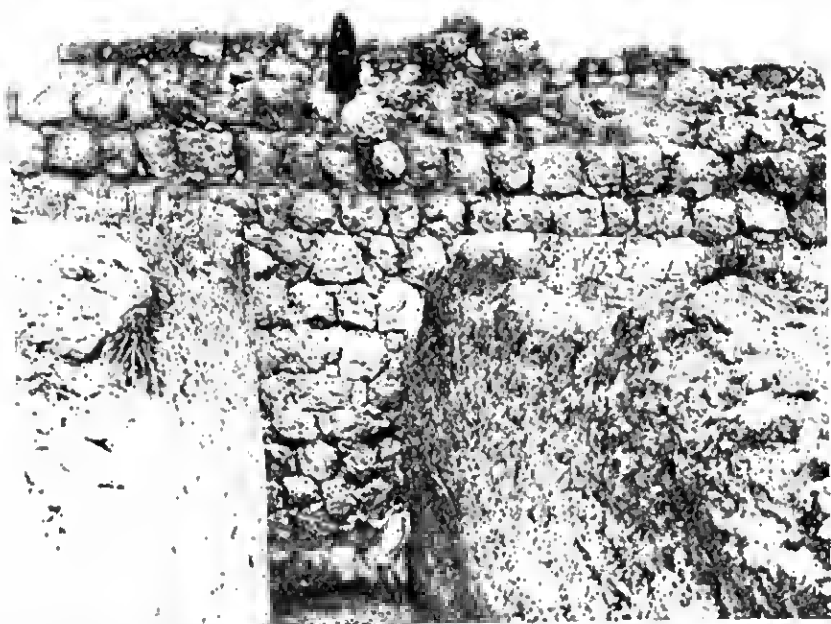
TENTATIVE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE WEST SIDE OF TELL DEVEIR, SHOWING ELEVATION OF CITY WALLS AND GATEWAYS.



VIEW LOOKING SOUTH-EAST ACROSS OPEN COURTYARD, W. AND S. PORTICOS OF
RESIDENCY (PERSIAN PERIOD).



VIEW LOOKING W. ALONG FACE OF FOUNDATIONS OF S. WALL OF EARLY CITADEL, SHOWING ORIGINAL CORNER MASKED BY SUBSEQUENT ADDITION.



SHOWS EARTH RAMP AGAINST FOUNDATION COURSES OF W. WALL OF EARLY CTADEL. RUINED WALLS OF LATE RESIDENCY BEHIND FIGURE OF GIRL.



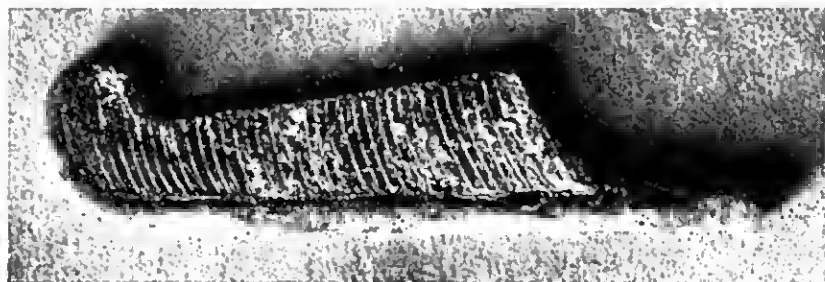
VIEW S. THROUGH OUTER CITY GATEWAY (PERSIAN PERIOD). SHOWS THRESHOLD AND E. DOOR JAMB WITH LIMESTONE DOOR SOCKET IN POSITION BELOW.



VIEW LOOKING N. ALONG FACE OF W. REVETMENT AFTER CLEARANCE OF SOIL.
MASKING UPPER COURSES.



CREST OF BRONZE HELMET (SEE P. 196).



BRONZE MAAT FEATHER, OVERLAIN
WITH GOLD LEAF. (SEE P. 190.)

complex had cut a large rectangular trough in which to lay their foundations, and the soil from it had been put close at hand and subsequently dumped back against the walls to form a protective footing, which was added to as the work progressed and made a convenient ramp up which the limestone blocks of the upper courses could be dragged and placed in position.

This method of construction was also observed against the lower courses of the great stone revetment surrounding the city, with which we think this building is contemporary.

It seems almost certain that this earlier structure was the keep or palace-fort of the original system of defence dating to the latter part of the first Iron Age, about 950 B.C. The completion of this work will be our first problem next season and we must defer a more precise dating until then.

As mentioned before, superimposed on this building were the remains of a smaller one which we have completely cleared. It is certainly post-exilic and was occupied throughout the fifth and sixth centuries B.C. Fragments of a large crater of fine red Attic ware have been dated by Mr. Iliffe to 425-470 B.C., and were found on the floor of a chamber sealed in by the fallen roof.

The plan of this late residency can be divided into a series of public and private apartments. To the north is a square open courtyard, flanked on the north and east by small apartments with doorways opening to it. A portico on the west gives access to a series of rooms beyond. To the south of the courtyard is a larger portico opening to an apartment across the main axis of the building, and from here doorways lead to more private rooms and domestic offices.

The walls of the building had been denuded to a common height of about four feet, down to the level of the stone debris from the limestone vaulting of the roof which filled the rooms. There was evidence that the walls had been lined with a thick coat of fine white plaster and the floors had been similarly covered.

In some rooms the soft limestone blocks had fallen in a mass together, showing as they lay their original alignment relative to the parallel walls of the chambers. From this we learn that the method

of spanning the rooms was with diagonal courses of blocks, and not laid at right angles to the walls.

Our main concern this season was to secure a suitable area on which to shoot rubbish from our work above, and as a temporary measure we have left our soil from the clearance of the residency in parallel dumps to be removed completely, by means of a light railway, and shot clear of the town levels over the north-west corner of the mound.

So we started in this region low down on the edge of the cultivation, and cleared forward to bedrock up the slope, terracing back as we went, and so handing back the area examined to the land-owners freed from encumbering boulders and in a better condition than we found it.

Immediately we struck rock-cut tombs; some had been re-used in the late fourth-fifth centuries A.D. as dwellings, but others had been undisturbed since they were plundered in early times. A typical example is Tomb 106, of the three chambered type approached through a small funerary chapel, from whence a flight of steps led down into the outer chamber.

On one side of this room was cut a wide bench on which the bodies were composed; in the end wall, a rectangular doorway led to a back chamber usually provided with benches on all three sides, and frequently a well for offerings cut into the rock behind to the depth of three feet. The third chamber was usually approached by a doorway in the right hand wall of the outer chamber and similarly fitted with benches and an offering well. The contents of these tombs had been so badly disturbed that they looked like the wares in a hargrains basement on remnant day, and the human remains had been so roughly handled that no limbs were found articulated. In fact, we consider ourselves very fortunate to get away with a few intact skulls.

From the style of the pottery associated with these tombs, we can safely date them to the early part of the Second Iron Age, and as late as the end of the Jewish kingdom, as in the upper levels we occasionally found the early type of Greek fibulae.

A few single shaft burials were also found, but these were of the earlier phase of Israelite occupation.

An unusual deposit was found in a rock-cut chamber of the middle Bronze Age which had been completely cleared of its original contents and re-used as a depository for human remains during the Middle Iron Age 700-600 B.C., the result possibly of the salvage from a part of the city after destruction by fire : a large proportion of the bones were completely or partially encased and many of the skulls showed areas which had been burned, radiating from bad fractures as though burning timber had fallen on prostrate bodies.

The pottery, as I have already mentioned, is typical of the late Jewish kingdom and although we have some skilfully made pieces with a good red slip and well burnished, in the main the ware is very coarse and the forms exceedingly ungainly, so very different to the elegant shapes of the pre-Israelite times. What they lack in quality they make up in quantity. Tomb 106 produced over 500 examples, Tomb 1002 over 700.

With these vessels were pottery Astarte figures, usually on a pedestal, sometimes solid and sometimes hollow. On some examples there are traces of red ochre having been painted on the face, and the bust and pedestal of the figure show signs of a white wash.

Astarte's attendant doves are occasionally represented, as well as pottery rattles, which seem to be closely connected with the figurines. Whether these be childrens' toys or whether they have some magical significance, is not yet certain.

Pottery models of couches and chairs also occur, as is so common in Mesopotamia ; and although, in the case of amulets and scarabs we see a strong Egyptian influence, nevertheless, with this class of funerary equipment, we seem to be in touch with different underlying ideas found among most Semitic peoples.

Amulets representing Egyptian deities usually made in faience are common, no doubt imported from the Nile Valley. The most frequent gods shown are Bes, Ptah-Soker, Bast, and Isis with Horus.

An interesting class of object is the bone scaraboid, with roughly engraved motifs of an un-Egyptian character, so different from the imported series of Egyptian scarabs found with them ; they must certainly be of local workmanship.

Pottery figurines of horsemen riding bareback are from the same tomb series, one man is shown wearing a tall pointed cap, reminiscent of the riders of the northern steppes.

Besides this series of Israelite burials, we cleared some large single chamfered tombs of the Middle Bronze Age, related to the bilohate or kidney-shaped type. Rectangular and circular chambers were also found, approached by the usual shaft. Water jars with their pointed based dipper flasks and carinated rimmed bowls were the regular equipment for graves of this period. Scarabs were numerous and many were cut in amethystine quartz and green jasper. The designs engraved on the steatite specimens mostly show Egyptian hieroglyphs and linear motifs so popular at this time.

The larger scarabs belong to finger rings with bronze shafts. With these were found bronze daggers and toggle pins of a form which preclude their being early in the series.

As we proceeded forward in the area chosen for dumping, and approached the rock escarpment, the soil to be removed was laden with huge boulders fallen from above, which made progress difficult. The rock here suddenly dropped away and it was soon obvious that we were faced with the necessity of clearing a deep trench, crossing our work.

First we had to investigate an area occupied by the foundations of dwellings of late Bronze or Ramesside date, and when this was done we had to resort to blasting to free the trench from the limestone boulders.

The date of this ancient excavation is indicated by a deposit of pottery found just before the completion of the last levels of the filling actually lying on bedrock. The deposit is a large one and runs under the vertical scarp of debris remaining to be cleared next season. It consists of pottery vessels mostly bowls and dipper flasks, but the most important piece for dating is a broad shouldered vase, decorated in black and red bands, with figures of birds below the rim in a style commonly occurring before the close of the so-called Hyksos period. It certainly precedes in date the arrival of the Syrian base-ring ware: pottery like it has been found further south of Tell Fara, Tel Ajjul, Tell Hesi and now at Tell

Duweir, and I have heard that at Ras Shamra in Syria, they have found similar examples.

In this connection it is interesting to compare the decoration on some pottery found recently by Mr. Speiser at Tell Billa, published by the University Museum, Philadelphia. Here we see that in his third stratum, which he calls Hurrian about 1600 B.C., occurs a technique of decoration which is either directly or indirectly connected with the method of treatment of the birds and the linear patterns on this particular pottery found in south Palestine.

This most suggestive piece of evidence, coupled with the fact that the cuneiform correspondence from Tell Amarna and Ta'anek in Palestine tells us of the presence of governors and officials bearing names of non-Semitic origin, (which Mr. Sidney Smith informs me belong to the dialect used by this Hurrian people from north-east Syria in the region known as Mitanni, round the Khabur valley), may point to the origins of the peoples who were the dominating class before the Hebrew invasion of Palestine, and may indicate the parentage of Egypt's loyal governors, whose plight was so dramatically described in the Tell Amarna Letters. Thus we see the historical value of a few sherds, and how important foreign influences can sometimes be traced.

An important result of this season's work has been the clearance of much of the city's later and outer defences.

At each point where we have examined the revetment it is founded on bedrock, and in places is preserved to a height of 14 courses, or over 25 feet; it makes a complete circuit of the mound except for a section of about 100 feet which fell away during the last five years, and is built of regular courses of large limestone blocks, laid as dry walling. At the turn of the revetment at the north-east corner we found a well, within the angle of masonry, lined with stone to a depth of 26 feet and then cut through native rock until it reached water level 122 feet below the surface.

From this corner, the revetment was traced along the north side of the mound, to the north-west corner, where five large buttresses strengthened it as it turned southwards, along the west side recessed back at intervals as it follows the contours of the mound.

It forms a junction at the south-west corner with the great bastion, which, as mentioned previously, held the gateway.

Although this circuit is so well preserved, there are large areas which still retain masses of debris passing down from above through the breaches made during the later assaults on the city's defences.

Should the mound prove to be the Lachish of the Old Testament as Dr. Albright and Professor Garstang have suggested, it would be consistent to see in these gaps, evidence of the armed forces, which we are told were drawn up before the city in the time of Hezekiah, when Sennacherib "with all his army" menaced Judah, so vividly described in II Kings, II Chronicles and Isaiah.

Only the upper levels of the bastion have so far been examined and the foundations of the inner gateway with its flanking towers; these represent constructions of the city's latest phase, like the remains of the outer gate, from which the great sloping approach descends. This roadway passes over an earth ramp held in position by a stone revetment to the west, whilst to the east it is flanked by three tiers of fortification, which completely dominate and protect it. It was against the face of the middle wall that we found parts of the crest of a bronze helmet, similar in type to those worn on the helmets of spearmen in Sennacherib's army, as shown in the Lachish reliefs, in the British Museum.

The lower wall bears dramatic witness to the intensity of the conflagration which marked the last attack on these defences where the masonry from the upper walls had been reduced to lime, which overlaid the ruins of the lower wall; this may possibly be attributed to Nebuchadnezzar's onslaught when it is recorded that he came up against the only three defence cities, Azekah, Lachish and Jerusalem, which remained in Judah.

In conclusion, I must tell you how well I have been supported by my colleagues in the technical staff, Mr. L. Harding, Miss O. Tufnell, Mr. Richmond Brown, who is responsible for all the photographs. We were very pleased to have with us in the field, Mr. C. H. Inge, a student of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, and Mr. Donald Brown, recently of Mr. Winlock's staff at Luxor. Mr. Shaw from Sir Robert Mond's expedition to Amman did our surveying, and our grateful thanks are due to friends who

stayed with us; Colonel Clarke, Mr. Louis Upton Way and Mr. McWilliams, who has made fine drawings of our architectural reconstructions. Mr. and Mrs. Dunscombe Colt were with us from January onwards. In London Dr. Malcolm has given us much kind help and our thanks are also due to the Committee of this Society for inviting me to speak here to-day.

It is not only due to the co-operation and enthusiasm of these friends and of the staff that good results for a first season have been obtained, but also to the continuous, ungrudging and generous support of Sir Henry Wellecome and Sir Charles Marston.

INSCRIBED POTSDHERDS WITH BIBLICAL NAMES FROM SAMARIA.

BY DR. E. L. SUKENIK, *Hebrew University, JERUSALEM.*

DURING the last season of excavations conducted by the Joint Expedition at Samaria, a number of potsherds with Hebrew inscriptions were found, of which the following are a few examples bearing proper names which occur in the Bible.

Fig. 1 (Pl. IX). Fragment of the body of a globular jug; buff ware with grits, outer surface with thin reddish slip. Greatest length and width 10.5×7.5 cm.

Provenance:—E. 207. (Deep trench in the rock east of the city.)

Register No.:—C. 1307.

On the outer surface are five letters incised in a bold hand on the slip (height of letters between 1 and 2 cm.):

לרמלא

This grafitto represents the proper name רמלא, preceded by the preposition ל, i.e., "belonging to RML". There is a curious vertical stroke intersecting the continuation of the line coming out of the head of the א. It might be the numeral 1 or a division mark, though the latter is not necessary here. We may regard רמלא as an hypocoristicon of the Biblical name רמליו, which occurs in the familiar form רמליו—the father of one of the latest Israelite Kings, פקח בן רמליו (2 Kings xv, 25). The full form רמליו occurs on two ancient Hebrew seals, one of which bears the inscription ילנאהבת בת רמליו and the other, לרמליו בן נריו.

¹ M. A. Levy: *Siegel und Gemmen*; Breslau 1860, p. 46.

² A. H. Sayce: *P.E.F.; Q. St.*, 1909; p. 155.

For the dating of this graffito the form of the נ would give a clue. The head of the letter is no longer written in a zig-zag form, but in vertical strokes joined by one line. The VIIIth century B.C. would be the date to which we may assign this inscription.

Fig. 2 (Pl. IX). Forepart of an animal, apparently a horse, with mane and face broken; buff ware with grits, thin reddish slip worn out.

Provenance :—as above.

Register No. :—C. 1142.

On the forehead are incised letters, scratched in before burning and before the slip was put on :—

לעזר החצא

The letters are made by an unskilled hand. The first three letters are quite clear. Regarding the fourth letter, there is a possibility of reading it as an נ . If it is a ר the word would contain the name עזר which is עֶזֶר (Neh. iii, 19) or עֶזְרָא . If it is an א , then the name is עֶזְרָא , which is a short form for $\text{עֶזְרִיָּה$. Between this and the following word is a dot, which, if intentional, would serve as a division mark between the words. The letters of the second word are not so deeply incised as those of the first and become gradually shallower. The first letter is clearly an ה . The second letter, if we accept the left vertical line as belonging to it, will be a ח . Of the third letter some intersecting horizontal lines are seen, which might be part of a צ . The last letter, which is the shallowest, looks to be an נ . This word, preceded by the article ה , implies an ethnicon, as for instance the ethnicon יִרְדְּנָה = No. 51 of the Palace Ostraca of Samaria. Could חצא be a short form of חצרת , mentioned in the same ostraca?

Fig. 3 (Pl. X). Fragment of pottery; buff ware with grits, outer surface with red slip, triangular shape. Base about 38 mm. and height 37 mm.

Provenance :—as above.

Register No. :—C. 1266.

On the outer surface are remains of two lines shallowly incised on the red slip (Fig. 3). The letters in general are quite small,

especially in the first line. They vary between 4 and 6 mm. in height:—

להלץ 1.

נב 2.

The inscription was apparently continued to the left side, where part of the נ is missing. The first line is certainly להלץ—“belonging to Helez.” The name occurs in the Bible and also several times on the older Samaria ostraca Nos. 22, 23, 26, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35 and 49. The second line is apparently the end of another name with the compound נב, the beginning of which was at the end of the preceding line.

Fig. 4 (Pl. X). Fragment of a bowl in buff ware with grits, red slip on both surfaces, furnished outside and on the rim. About 6 × 7 cm. greatest length and height.

Provenance:—as above.

Register No.:—C. 1220.

On the inner surface just below the rim seven letters are incised on the red slip. The left continuation of the line is missing. The letters are between $\frac{1}{2}$ and 1 cm. in height:—

ברך אחוי

The first six letters are perfectly clear and the right part of the י can also be clearly traced. It is difficult to say with certainty that there is a division mark between the words. The point between the ב and the א might well be a dividing mark, but it may also be due to a small grit of the ware having fallen out. There is, however, no doubt about the actual grouping of the letters. We may read it ברך אחוי.

The first word is the same as the ostrakon No. 2 found by the Joint Expedition in 1932.¹ Following this word is the name אחוי or אחווי. For the first form, see the older Samaria ostraca No. 25.

It is difficult to make any positive suggestion about the purpose of this inscription, owing to the fragmentary condition of the sherd.

¹ Q. St., July 1933, p. 152 f.

There certainly was a continuation of the line on the left side, but the first word on the right may be regarded as the beginning of the inscription. The first explanation that would suggest itself is that a broken sherd of howl was used for the purpose of writing a note, this note commencing with the greeting בָּרוּךְ אֲחָזִי —“Blessed by Ahazia” or “Be blessed, Ahazia . . .” Against this explanation the objection might be raised that, since the letters are quite large and written in a single line, a very large potsherd would have been required for the message, and this would have been inconvenient. For the purpose of a message these letters would probably have been smaller, but at all events it would have been more practicable to condense it into a smaller space by writing it in several shorter consecutive lines.

An alternative and more plausible explanation is that this is a votive inscription on a howl which contained an offering and that אֲחָזִי is the name of the person who made the offering. We should expect this proper name to be followed by לִי or לְבַעַל . This would be a striking parallel to the formula employed by Malkizedeq, the king of Salem, in pronouncing the benediction upon Abram (Genesis xiv, 19) $\text{—בָּרוּךְ אַבְרָם לֵאלֹהֵי עֲלִיּוֹן}$ —“Blessed be Ahram by God the Most High.”

Fig. 5. Fragment of upper part of a bowl; buff ware with grey grits, red slip on both surfaces. Greatest length and width about 8×7 cm.

Provenance :—as above.

Register No. :—C. 1265.

On the outer surface below the rim are six letters shallowly incised on the slip (height of letters between 5 and 20 mm.) :—

לִי יֵשָׁע

This is the proper name יֵשָׁע with the preposition לִ : “belonging to Yoyesha.” יֵשָׁע is an alternative form of יֵשַׁע . A number of proper names compounded in the same way were found on the older ostraca of Samaria, e.g., יֵדַע (Ostrakon No. 65) and יֵשָׁב (Ostrakon No. 36).



FIG. 5.



FIG. 2.

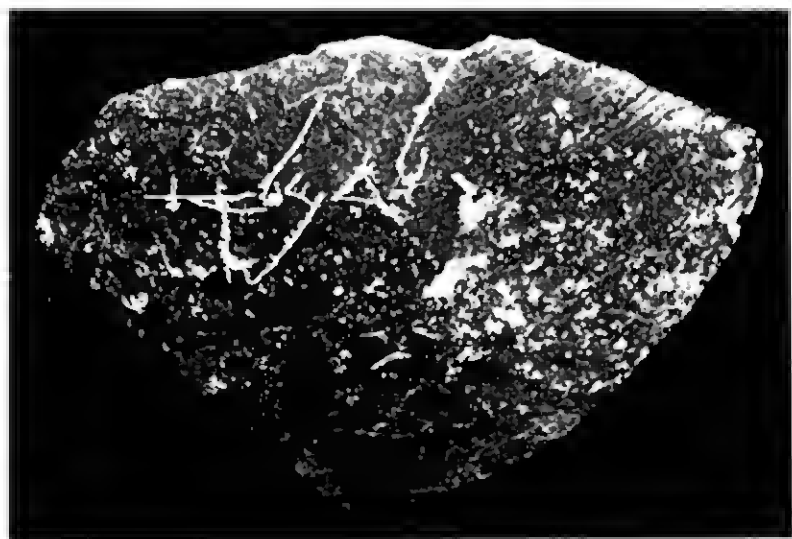


FIG. 1.



FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.

EN-DOR: A SACRED SPRING?

D. WINTON THOMAS.

SACRED dances in the form of encircling a sacred object had a definite place in the religious life of the Israelites.¹ Among the objects around which we may assume that the ritual encircling dance took place were holy trees and wells.² The existence of sacred trees, wells and springs among the Israelites and other Semitic peoples has, of course, been long recognised; but in the Old Testament "there is no allusion to the dance around them; but as we know from so many sources that wherever sacred trees and springs existed (which has been the world over), part of the ritual in connection with them consisted of the sacred dance, we need not gather from the silence of the Old Testament that it did not take place."³

The suggestion here made is that in the name En-dor there may be a reminiscence of the ritual encircling dance which at one time was performed at "the spring of Dor." This proper name occurs three times in the Old Testament, with variation of spelling (Josh. xvii, 11 עֵין דֹּר, 1 Sam. xxviii, 7 דֹּר 'ע, Ps. lxxxiii, 11 דֹּר 'ע)

Now the root דֹּר is cognate with the Arabic root دَار (dāra), whose primary meaning is "went, moved, turned in a circle."⁴ This root is used in the first and ninth forms of "encircling" the Ka'aba at Mecca, and دَوَّار (duwār^{an}) is the name of "a certain idol which the Arabs set up, and around it they made a space, round which they turned or circled,"⁵ and الدَّوَّار (al-duwwāru) and الدَّوَّار (al-dawwāru) also signify the Ka'aba,⁶ i.e. that which is encircled. The original meaning of דֹּר also is "to move in a circle, go about, surround."⁷ Is

¹ See W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Sacred Dance*, p. 37.

² *Ibid.*, p. 88.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁴ Lane, *Arab. Eng. Lex.*, I, iii, p. 930.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 931.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 932. Cf. Wellhausen, *Reste Arabischen Heidenthums*, p. 106 (1887).

⁷ Brown-Driver-Briggs, *Hebr. Eng. Lex.*, p. 189. Cf. Payne-Smith, *Theo. Syr.*,

l. 850, where דֹּר (dūr) = circumivū; further p. 851; דֹּר (dūr) processio, pompa ecclesiastica.

it possible, then, that the name En-dor really means "spring of encircling," and that the spring was a sacred one, the name retaining a reminiscence of the ritual encircling dance which was once performed there ?

In the narrative in 1 Sam. xxviii. we are told that the "medium" whom Saul consulted was to be found at En-dor. Was it merely fortuitous that she should have taken up her abode at this spot ? May it not rather have been the case that she chose to practise her art at a spot which could claim ancient sacred associations, in the neighbourhood of a spring which tradition held to be sacred ? In verse 7 Saul commands his servants, "Seek me a woman that hath a familiar spirit," etc. His servants have no need to "seek"—the "medium" of En-dor is well-known to them. Was her reputation due, not so much to her known success as a "medium," as to the fact that she was to be found near this old sacred spring, around which at one time, we may believe, ritual dancing may have been performed ?

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

The Ancient Synagogue of Beth Alpha. By Eleazar L. Sukenik. The University Press, Jerusalem : London, Oxford University Press. 1932.

This excellent volume describes the excavations conducted on behalf of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem at Beth Alpha, and was first issued in the Hebrew language. Beth Alpha, the site of a new Jewish colony, is the native Khirbet Beit Ilfa, lying to the west-north-west of Beisan on one of the lower tiers of the northern slope of the Gilboa range. Members of the settlement, digging there in December, 1928, came across the remains of a mosaic representing some part at least of the signs of the Zodiac, and above them some Hebrew characters. It was evident that a synagogue had been discovered, and the Department of Antiquities, taking the matter in hand, lost no time in sending Dr. Sukenik to supervise the work of excavation. In this he was eminently successful, and thanks to the cordial co-operation of benefactors, scholars and helpers of all kinds we now have an admirable account of the chief results.

The cost of excavation and publication was generously met by the "Temple Emanu-El," New York. In the translation of the Hebrew original Dr. Sukenik records his indebtedness to Canon Danby ; and the Dominican Fathers, Mr. J. W. Crowfoot, Mr. J. Pinkerfeld, as architect, and many others have provided plans, photographs and other illustrative material. From the first the discovery of the synagogue aroused keen interest, and Dr. Sukenik and the Hebrew University are to be thanked for the care taken to satisfy scientific curiosity.

Apparently the synagogue of Beth Alpha is the smallest of those as yet discovered (p. 12). Its plan could be pretty clearly recovered. Traces were found of a gallery which served as the "Women's Vestibule" ; the roof of the building was sloping (not flat), and in the lower level of the platform in front of the apse were two perpendicular rounded hollows, the object of which can be conjectured with the help of archaeological material elsewhere. Thus it is considered possible that they held the stands of the two Menorahs or candlesticks that stood before the Ark ; or, more probably,

the beams supported the curtain (*pārōketh*). Indeed on some of the Jewish gilt glass vessels found at Rome can be seen a column bearing the curtain in front of the Ark. Illustrations of these are provided.

The mosaic covered the whole of the floor. The centre nave depicts ritual objects, *e.g.*, the Ark, with closed doors (containing the scrolls of the Law), a very common motif in early Jewish art. It is distinguished in this case by two birds, one on either side. That they represent or rather symbolize Cherubim is, as Dr. Sukenik points out, improbable, since in some of the other ancient synagogues these beings are represented in the form of angels. Perhaps, to judge from some of the gilt glass vessels found in Rome, they represent doves, symbols of truth and sincerity; although if, as is not unlikely, they are meant to be ostriches, Dr. Sukenik recalls that in ancient Egypt truth and righteousness were symbolized by the plumage of that bird. In fact, as the mosaic is thought to be of Coptic, that is of Alexandrian workmanship—various Alexandrian Jews are known to have settled in Palestine—Egyptian symbolism, unless the birds are purely ornamental, is not out of the question. Several other features call for notice, and are duly discussed (pp. 26 ff.). Among them a lion on either side of the Ark—at least such is the animal evidently intended—recalls the representations and images elsewhere of the animals which were supposed to guard the holy place.

In the centre of the pavement is depicted the Cycle of the Zodiac, which at once recalls the earlier—and less primitive—Zodiac from Ain Dōk or Na'aran near Jericho. The two supplement one another and are carefully compared by Dr. Sukenik. Thus it appears that in depicting Cancer the craftsman chose a local species from the near-by Jalud river (*potamion potamios*), whereas at Na'aran it is *maia squinado*. Virgo sits on a throne: it is an unusual feature, and apparently the oldest instance of the seat in art (p. 37 n. 1). In Lihra exigence of space has forced the artist to give the man with the scales only one leg; whereas on the Na'aran mosaic the artist seems to have been more skilful. Aquarius is represented in a somewhat unusual manner: a man by a well or cistern draws water in a utensil fastened to a rope. It may be added that the four seasons are duly depicted, that of autumn being correctly named after the month Tishri; the corresponding enigmatic -li

on the Na'aran mosaic should naturally be read as (Tish)ri, and my remarks in *Schweich Lectures on the Religion of Palestine in the Light of Archaeology*, p. 207, should be corrected accordingly.

The third panel contains a picture of the Sacrifice of Isaac, at the moment when the angel is restraining the patriarch from carrying out the divine command. Dr. Sukenik observes that it is not very different from the pictures of this subject in contemporary art. Besides various other pictures there are two inscriptions. One, in Greek, is on behalf of the craftsmen Marianos and his son Haninn. The other in Aramaic is much more important, since it is dated in the reign of Justinus, that is, Justin I, 518-27 A.D., or Justin II, 565-78 A.D. It is unfortunately imperfect and very difficult.¹

In a final general survey, Dr. Sukenik discusses the place of the Beth Alpha synagogue among those already known, including the recently discovered Jerash synagogue. The scenes represented in these two and in the Na'aran (Jericho) synagogue opens up, as he observes, a new page in Jewish art. "We have here one of the sources which, through the channels of tradition, influenced popular Jewish art in the Middle Ages throughout the Diaspora." A trace of it can be seen in a Moslem carpet from Spain of the XIVth century (p. 56). Another interesting fact is that for the first time we find pictures of biblical subjects in ancient synagogues; but while primitive Christian art has much that invites comparison, the question of the *direction* of influence, whether Jewish on Christian, or the reverse, must be left open. Finally, the Zodiacal signs are of importance for the history of Jewish culture. On the one hand, the interest in things astrological goes back to an early date²; but, on the other, Dr. Sukenik cites a verse from the Jerusalem Targum where it is stated that in the days of Rabhi Ahun (the first half of the IVth cent. A.D.) "they began to depict figures on mosaic and none protested." It may be added that on this and several other grounds (*e.g.* structural arrangement), he concludes (p. 53) that the

¹The obscure הַטִּישׁ in L3 has provoked many suggestions (see p. 45). If another one may be added, may one not think of הַטִּישׁ Ezra vi, 17, in an account of the dedication of the temple?

²See p. 56f, and my *Schweich Lectures (Rel. of Palestine)*, p. 207f.

Na'aran synagogue must be later than the date suggested by Père Vincent, viz., about the IIIrd cent. A.D.

From all appearances the synagogue of Beth Alpha did not enjoy a lengthy career. There are clear signs of earthquake, and it has been estimated that during the VIth cent. there were no less than twenty earthquakes in Palestine. The native Jewish settlement probably did not long survive the Persian invasion and the Arab conquest in the VIIth century, and Dr. Sukenik concludes : "The condition in which the mosaic was found shows that the synagogue was in any case destroyed before the period which saw that antagonism to [animal] motifs in synagogue-decoration, an antagonism which was afterwards responsible for the defacement of all such decorations."

Dr. Sukenik and the Hebrew University at Jerusalem are to be congratulated on this scholarly volume.

S. A. Cook.

Masada, die Burg des Herodes und die römischen Lager ; mit einem Anhang : Beth-ter ; von Prof. Dr. Adolf Schulten (Sonderdruck aus Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins Band 56 ; M.15).

The mountain fortress of Masada was, according to Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* vii, 285), built by Jonathan, the brother of Judas Maccabæus, who flourished n.c. 161-134 ; he speaks of it as "the strongest of all" the fortresses (*Bell. Jud.* i, 237) ; one can see, even from photos, of what prodigious strength it must have been ; it was, indeed, impregnable, and, with one terrible exception, nothing but the starving out of the garrison was ever able to bring about its capture.

The interest in reference to Masada is two-fold : the fortress itself and the part it played in the troubled history of the Jews ; and, secondly, the Roman camps constructed around it. These two main subjects, in addition to a number of subsidiary matters, are dealt with by Dr. Schulten in the volume before us ; and it must be said that he has produced a work the great interest of which is only surpassed by the author's scholarship and power of graphic description. The story he tells, illustrated by a number of quite admirable pictures and plans, enables one truly to live in imagination in the

times of which he writes. The first two pictures, showing Masada from the east and north, respectively, give one a clear idea of the impregnability of the fortress. Situated in the wild and rugged mountains of southern Judæa, to the west of the Dead Sea, Masada was a natural fortress, even before it was fortified by Herod the Great.

Dr. Schulten begins by giving the history of Masada—documented at every point, so that one's interest is aroused at the start. This historical account is also very useful to anyone making a study of the period, because Dr. Schulten has gathered, in chronological order, all the references in Josephus about Masada; the dating of every event is also very helpful. Then follows a chapter giving a description of the work of all previous investigators. In Chapter III the topography of Masada is minutely set forth; the following gives one some idea of its formation: "On the north, east and south the rock-fortress falls precipitously down into the depth below; ascent is impossible; the steepest parts are on the north and south, and the plateau on the summit (600 metres long and 200 broad, ends in sharp peaks down which there are first some steps, and then a perpendicular wall of rock into the abyss." On the north, too) there is a high peak, the highest and most imposing part of the whole mass. The account of Herod's fortification (Chap. IV) is skilfully and clearly detailed; and this is followed by a description of the siege by the Romans, also a very interesting chapter. The longest chapter in the volume is taken up with very exact accounts of the nine Roman encampments constructed during the final siege of Masada; the great experience which Dr. Schulten had in conducting this kind of work in Spain makes his investigations here of great value. He tells us that it was his earlier work which decided him, ten years ago, to undertake the investigations of the Roman encampments about Masada when the opportunity should occur. This is the most important portion of the volume before us; and while owing to the technicalities these descriptions may not interest the general reader so much as the rest of the book, one cannot but admire the thoroughness of Dr. Schulten's methods and his clear presentation of all the factors.

The last chapter tells, with graphic detail, the final fall of Masada, assuredly one of the most horrible episodes ever recorded—yet an

amazing illustration of the lengths to which mad heroism can go.

An Appendix is added describing briefly the circumvallation of Beth-ter, a fortified spot, the destruction of which by the Romans was necessary owing to its position on the road to Jerusalem.

The volume is to be highly recommended for its interest, learning and information.

Clara Rhodos, Vol. vi-vii, 1932-33. Istituto Storico-Archeologico di Rodi.

A sumptuous publication; admirable illustrations; a number (from the archaeological point of view an excess) of coloured plates. The book, in three parts, contains a wealth of material from excavations in Rhodes and the Islands, carried out during 1930 and the two following years by Professor Giulio Jacopi, who justly points out the merits of a speedy, clear and objective presentation of results. Part I deals with Camirus, the material being presented in tomb-groups, as sporadic finds, in a general description of the excavations of the acropolis, and in a detailed description of the group of archaic votive offerings found there unstratified. Last come the inscriptions. It is difficult to select, but from the pottery (of all periods from late Minoan to Hellenistic), a specimen of the Corinthian squatting silen unguent-vase, with instructions for use in graffiti, may be mentioned; a double-headed terra-cotta; some Eastern Greek seventh-century jugs, fragments of a large Attic black-figured amphora of the third quarter of the sixth-century, and a red-figured bell-crater of the middle of the fifth: from the metal work, six gold pendants, each with two Dnedalid heads in relief: from the sculpture, two archaic male torsoes, of island style and sixth-century date. The votive group includes statuettes and other objects of Egyptian, Egyptianizing and orientalizing manufacture.

Part II presents the results of excavations in the cemetery of Rhodes itself and of excavations and researches in Nisyros and Scarpanto. From Nisyros came a number of Eastern Greek vases and the lower part of a seated woman from an Attic stele of the late fifth century. In Scarpanto the early Christian basilicas of Arcassa yielded interesting mosaics.

Part III is devoted to magnificent illustrations of miniatures from the codices of Patmos, ranging from the tenth to the sixteenth century, and of the textiles, painting, and metal-work preserved in the treasury of the monastery of St. John. Finally, a series of illustrations of examples of the glazed Turkish pottery of "Lindian" type. This preliminary to a complete corpus—where colour is more welcome than in the classical sections—should prove a useful piece of work.

B. A.

Annual of the British School at Athens. Vol. xxxi, Session 1930-31.

Messrs. W. C. Heurtley and T. C. Skeat discuss the group of tholos-tombs at Marmáriauc, near Larisa in Southern Thessaly. From the pottery found, which is interesting for its relationship with both the indigenous matt-painted ware and the Mycenaean, the tombs are Protogeometric. Their absolute date is important, for it determines whether or not they have any connection with the Dorians. The lower limit is fixed about 800 B.C. by the absence of full Geometric ware, the upper about 1,000: this upper limit being decided by accepting the traditional date of the fall of Mycenae about 1100 as the end of the latest Mycenaean ("granary") style, and inferring (from the evidence of certain groups of pottery from Ithaca transitional between "granary" style and Protogeometric) a short sub-Mycenaean period. The conclusion is that the tombs, being of the first two hundred years of the first millennium, can have nothing to do with the Dorians, who by this time are thought to have passed south. The traces of the Dorians are, it is held, to be found in the destruction of many late Mycenaean sites and the change to sub-Mycenaean.

Miss M. Hartloy writes of early Greek vases from Crete, illustrates new and interesting material both in the vases themselves and in their plastic decoration, and in discussing "the only Laconian vase found in Crete" attacks, as fifty years too early, the date in the early sixth-century generally accepted for the crater in the Louvre.

Professor Tillyard publishes further Morning Hymns of the Emperor Leo on the Resurrection. His main conclusions were put forward in Vol. xxx of the *Annual*: but the greater part of his results is still to come.

Miss Winifred Lamb gives a general outline of the new developments of her work at Thermi in Lesbos, reserving detailed treatment for a separate publication; and an account of tentative excavations of the ancient Antissa, "loveliest and most isolated" of all ancient sites in the island. It is welcome news that from these trials she has been able to select important points for further digging.

Finally there is a foreword by Sir Arthur Evans to Mr. Pendlebury's guide to the Stratigraphical Museum in the Palace at Knossos, explaining the origin of this important museum. The guide, which is to be supplemented by bulletins as the work is completed, will be of the greatest value to visiting students.

B. A.

Origins of Sacrifice. By The Rev. Professor E. O. James. John Murray. 314 pp.

The special value of Professor James's study of the origins of sacrifice lies in his clear recognition of the fact that "being founded upon the most fundamental concepts in human society, the institution of sacrifice is capable of becoming infused with a new spirit, and undergoing a complete ethical transformation. Nevertheless, it is essentially part of a culture pattern, and in consequence when the institution ceases to operate the associated religious order tends to disintegrate."

Throughout his book Professor James has treated sacrifice in relation to the larger culture pattern of which it forms an essential part, and has traced out the rise and decay of this once all-pervading culture pattern.

Hence, the book forms an indispensable adjunct to the late Professor Buchanan Gray's *Sacrifice in the O.T.*, since it sets the history of sacrifice among the Hebrew people in the necessary setting in which alone it can be fully understood.

After a most useful evaluation of the literary evidence and incidentally of the archaeological evidence, the author deals with the use and significance of blood in the early period prior to the evolution of the "higher ritual" centring in the person of the Divine King. In Chapter II he gives an admirable account of the growth and ramifications of this culture pattern with its seasonal rituals, dying and rising gods, and sacred marriages. It may be remarked, in

passing, that the author apparently accepts the position that the Solar cult in Egypt was prior to the development of the Osirian system, and speaks of "the Osirianization of the royal solar ritual" (p. 72). This is the opinion of most Egyptologists, although it is denied by Mr. Perry in his "Children of the Sun."

Professor James proceeds to trace out the origins of sacrifice in human sacrifice, head-hunting and cannibalism, the Mystery Cults, until he arrives in Chapter VI at the central theme of Sacrament and Sacrifice in Christianity. The last three chapters deal with Propitiation and Atonement, Priesthood and the Altar, and the Institution of Sacrifice.

His treatment obliges us to go behind Robertson Smith's theory of the origin of sacrifice in a sacred communal meal in which the worshipper ate the flesh of the god, and shows that there is an earlier stage in which the object of ritual is the giving or prolonging of life, and has no purpose of communion, offering, or propitiation.

The author has illustrated his thesis by a wealth of reference to the whole range of ritual custom in every part of the world and in every period of history.

There is an admirable bibliography to each chapter. The book, always clear and readable in style, is a most valuable addition to the list of books which are indispensable to the student of the Bible and of the history of religion.

S. H. H.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

The Editor of "*Antiquity*" has drawn our attention to the fact that the discussion on the subject of Ethics and Archaeology referred to in the July issue of the Q.S. was first started in "*Antiquity*," March, 1933, p. 4.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS.

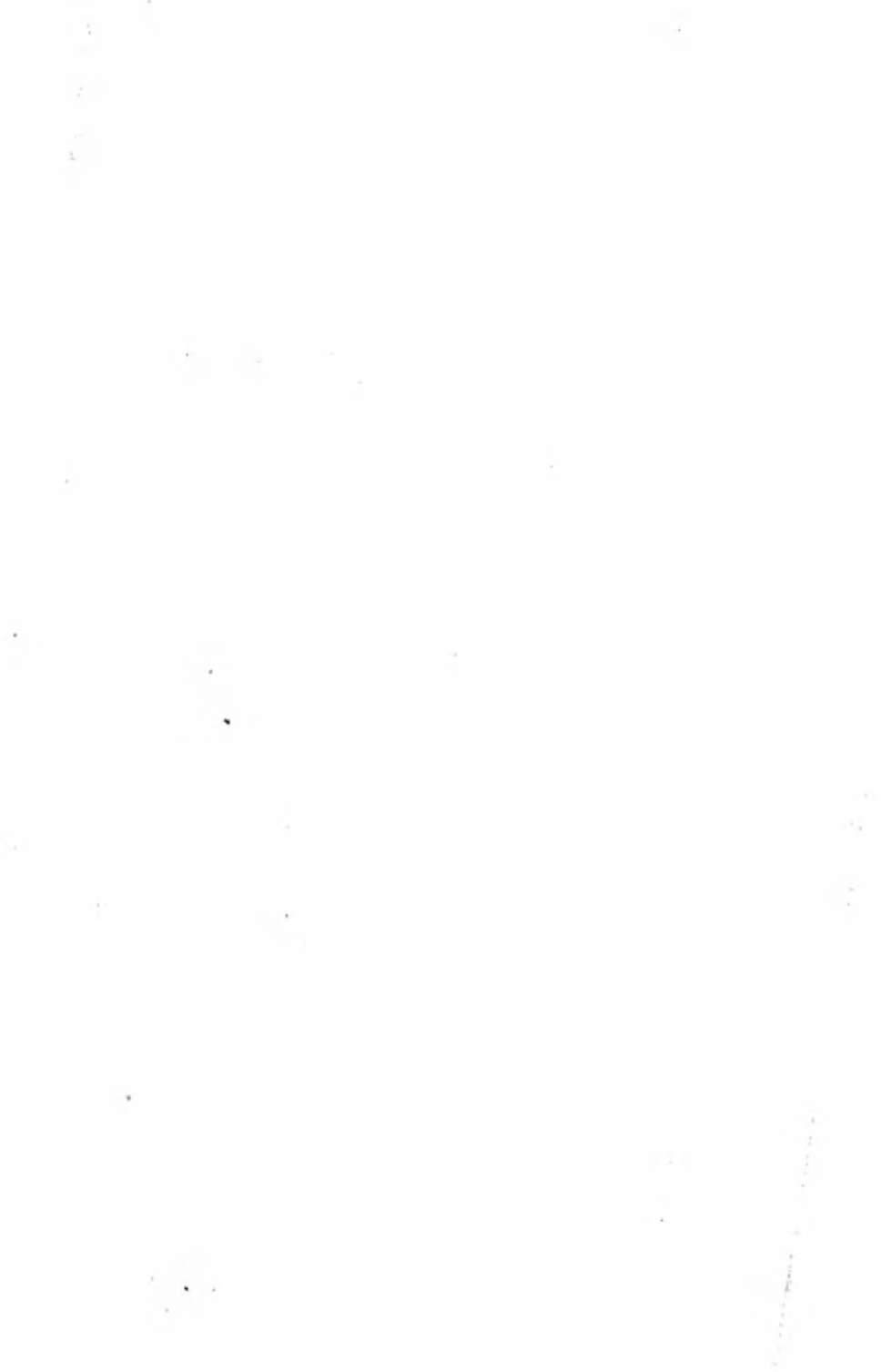
HEBREW.

HEBREW.	ENGLISH.		HEBREW.	ENGLISH.	
א	'		כ	<u>kh</u>	
ב	b		ל	l	
ג	<u>bh</u>		מ	m	
ד	<u>g</u>		נ	n	
ה	<u>gh</u>		ס	s	
ו	<u>d</u>		פ	p	
ז	<u>dh</u>		צ	f	
ח	<u>h</u>		ק	z	
ט	v, w		ר	<u>k</u>	
י	z		ש	r	
כ	<u>h</u>		ת	<u>sh</u>	
ל	<u>t</u>			s	
מ	y			t	
נ	k			th	

ARABIC.

ARABIC.	ENGLISH.		ARABIC.	ENGLISH.	
ا	'		د	<u>d</u>	
ب	b		ت	<u>t</u>	
ج	<u>t</u>		ث	<u>tz</u>	
ح	<u>th</u>		ع	'	
خ	<u>g</u>	or j in Syrian Arabic.	غ	<u>gh</u>	
د	<u>h</u>		ف	f	
ذ	<u>kh</u>		ك	<u>k</u>	
ر	<u>d</u>		ل	l	
ز	<u>dh</u>		م	m	
س	r		ن	n	
ش	z		ه	h	
ص	<u>s</u>		و	w	
	<u>sh</u>		ي	y	
	<u>z</u>				

Long vowels marked thus:—ā, ē, ī, ō, ū.





"A book that is shut is but a block"

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY

GOVT. OF INDIA
Department of Archaeology
NEW DELHI.

Please help us to keep the book
clean and moving.

S. 9., 148. N. DELHI.